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VOLUME XV

SPRING 1948—SUMMER 1949

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ON THE TITLING OF BOOKS:

A Note on Agnes Repplier and Her Essays

George Stewart Stokes

TO most readers the titling of a book appears to be the simplest part of the business. The real task is to write the book, and a title will follow as a kind of happy decoration, important of course, but not difficult to come upon. And when a proposed volume is to consist of a collection of essays already written, then certainly the title should present no problem whatsoever. Merely gather the essays in a tidy little bundle, bind them together, and cap the sheaf with a name. That is all there is to it. Quite easy, really—no cause for any to-do. But unfortunately not always is the business so readily managed. Sometimes the title presents a genuine difficulty and is the cause of a very considerable quandary. For sometimes the title just will not follow.

On occasion Agnes Repplier found it indeed a task to give titles to certain of her volumes of essays. And yet she has some very deft ones to her credit: *Compromises*, *The Fireside Sphinx*, *A Happy Half-Century*, *Points of Friction*, *Counter-Currents*, to choose a few at random. These apparently caused her no trouble; at least there is no indication anywhere that they did. But not with every book of essays did the naming come readily. More than once it was, as she herself put it, "the hardest thing in Christendom."

With *Books and Men*, there was no difficulty: the title was born of the essays themselves, for they deal with just these two topics—books and men. “Beginner’s luck,” some may say, in view of the fact that this title offered no problem. Perhaps so. *Books and Men* was its author’s first collection of essays, though at the time the volume appeared Miss Repplier was scarcely a beginner, having some ten or more years of professional writing behind her.

It was in the spring of 1888 that Agnes Repplier came to the conclusion that she wanted to publish a collection of her better essays. There were several reasons why she made the decision, but the most important was that she had become convinced that a book is a necessary form of advertisement for a periodical writer. “It is a great help to a writer to publish a book,” she would offer in somewhat oblique explanation to some of her friends. Then too, although this was merely secondary, her close friend Elizabeth Robbins Pennell had long since published several books, and Agnes Repplier was not one to allow Mrs. Pennell thus to get ahead to her.

Fearful lest no firm would want to risk publishing her essays—and none up to this time had volunteered to do so—the essayist wrote to a well-known Boston house offering them her work on a subsidized basis. Her close friend, the late Harrison Morris, who had had experience in the business of publishing, was her adviser in the matter. Although a recent trip to Boston had almost exhausted her small reserve of funds, both he and she thought it a venture not a little worth while. And as Miss Repplier would say in later years, “I had no hesitation—which was a help.”

Although the Boston firm of her choice agreed to publish a slim volume, they made it painfully clear that she was very probably throwing her money away. There was no market for essays, they informed her. But Agnes Repplier had made up her mind; she was not to be deterred by any considerations of money. This was far too important for debilitating caution. Having considered the question seriously, she was certain of what she wanted. Very well, the Boston firm replied to her letter brushing aside their objections, but remember that we warned you. And the edition was, upon their strong suggestion, reduced from a thousand copies to eight hundred, to protect her, they said, from too great a loss.

Some years later, after the book had gone through several printings, the publishers generously wrote her in congratulation. Aren't you glad you didn't take our advice? they asked in effect.

"*Books and Men*," Agnes Repplier wrote to Mr. Morris, "is to come out on September 29th," and she asked if he could possibly manage some newspaper publicity for her without too much trouble. Then on October 2, 1888, another letter to her good friend: "My copies of the essays have just arrived; neat quakerish little books with an air of deprecating modesty about them that forcibly suggest the most remote corner of the bookseller's shelf. I can see them already shrinking bashfully into their appointed nooks and powdering their little gray heads with the dust of the undisturbed."

But in February of the following year she was able to write Mr. Morris again in great excitement that only fifty-seven copies of the first edition were left. "Do you think it possible I will have a second?" she added in some wonder. No fear—the book went into twenty, all told. The advertisement Agnes Repplier had sought, it seemed, was a success.

After this auspicious start, Miss Repplier went on within the next four years to the publishing of two more collections of essays: *Points of View* (1891) and *Essays in Miniature* (1892). And if she had any difficulty in the titling of these volumes, at least there is no record of it. One may reasonably suppose that the essayist, with three easy books, so to speak, in print, looked to the fourth with no trepidation whatsoever. But good fortune this time was not with her—as to the title of the collection, that is. *Essays in Idleness*, as the volume was finally called, proved to be a very real problem.

In the spring and summer of 1893, Agnes Repplier took a trip west throughout a good part of which she was concerned over the title for her latest series of essays. En route to Denver, she wrote to Harrison Morris: "I have been thinking up some more titles which I submit to your judgment . . . Friends and Foes, Friends and Fables, An Idle House, Studies in Idleness, Essays in Idleness. The last I love, and will make a brave fight for, if it has your sanction. The sound at least is good."

Evidently Mr. Morris did not sanction "Essays in Idleness" but made other suggestions instead, for from Coronado Beach, California, Miss Repplier again wrote him: "I have promptly abandoned Essays in Idleness, and thank you heartily for both your letters. But, in truth, the substitutes please me no better."

The letter concluded on a pathetic note: "My natural imbecility is enhanced by fatigue and suffering; for what *do* you think I am doing in this most beautiful and glorious place? I am having the mumps for the first time in my life . . . As for my book, it must go without a title, I fear."

Harrison Morris responded shortly with another suggestion. And Miss Repplier answered from Santa Barbara: "Thanks for *Criteria*. It is fine, but a little pretentious. I have sent it at once to [the Houghton Mifflin Company] together with all the others, and left the choice to them . . . Miss P. gave me four titles. *Appreciations*, which belongs to Mr. Pater. *Dicta*, which belongs to Mr. Birrell. *A Sheaf of Essays*, which is bad, and *Perceptions*, which is good, and which I also sent to Boston."

Two weeks later from Monterey, the essayist again posted her friend and adviser as to her progress in the matter of a book title. In her letter she enclosed a note from her publishers who had chosen her favorite, "Essays in Idleness," as they said, "in spite of your own misgivings and the positive feeling of your 'skilled friend'." Miss Repplier explained: "I wrote them at once to use the one of *all* the titles they liked best, and I have washed my hands of the matter. But I am reinstated in my own conceit."

As for the country, she "loved Yosemite, the glades by the Merced River, and San Francisco." And she added, "I think that you would have enjoyed seeing me perched on a vicious grey mule, riding up one of the Yosemite 'trails,' in a state of mingled terror, bliss, and misery."

But Harrison Morris was not to be put off so easily. He suggested "*Criteria*" again as a title. And Agnes Repplier wrote him from San Francisco: "Upon my soul I think *Criteria* is fine. But you see my papers are none of them critical. If they were, don't you think I would jump at such a title? But how can I write about cats ["*Agrippina*" was to be the lead essay in the collection] and such like, when I want to call the book *Criteria*?"

And then, to soften her firm refusal of Mr. Morris's suggestion, Miss Repplier continued: "They have beautiful cats in the Chinese Quarter of San Francisco. And they are all so tame and friendly! Down in the dreadful underground dwellings where the poorest people live, a dear little Chinese girl brought a splendid, huge Maltese cat, and placed him in my arms."

But the business of titles, so recently concluded, was not far from her mind. The letter ended on a somewhat weary note: "I have just been requested to tell the New York World 'How I rest.' A paper of two hundred words called 'Agnes Repplier's Methods.' I explained that I didn't rest, and so could not oblige them."

As a happy footnote it should be added that *Essays in Idleness*, as had been her previous volumes, was well received. The reviewer for the *Atlantic* spoke of Agnes Repplier in the same breath as of Charles Lamb and Leigh Hunt, which was gratifying, to say the least. And in the *Book News Monthly*, the essayist read of her work: "Miss Repplier's style is captivating, without being at all grand or elaborate . . . She is certainly one of the most interesting figures in contemporary life." In spite of her own misgivings and the missing sanction of Harrison Morris, *Essays in Idleness*, title and all, had come off well.

The following year Agnes Repplier published *In the Dozy Hours*, which proved no real task for her, title or otherwise. *Philadelphia*, too, a history of her native city, save for the necessary research involved, went easily enough. But *Varia* (1897) was a different matter.

As with *Essays in Idleness*, it was not the selection of the individual papers that caused the concern, but an appropriate title. In February 1897, Agnes Repplier wrote to Morris, still her confidant in all such matters: "Do you think 'Life and Letters' would be a good title for my new book? It will have five literary papers, two historical ditto, and two sketches of travel. Or 'Letters and Life'?"

Mr. Morris responded with a list of suggested titles. And in reply Agnes Repplier wrote: "Mrs. Oliphant has pre-empted 'The Primrose Path' for one of her novels. I like 'Voyages at Anchor' immensely if it be appropriate. 'By Land and Letters' combines the travel sketches and literary papers."

Later she sent him a lengthy collection of titles, confessing: "I am played out. And none are good. It is the hardest thing in Christendom . . .".

But Harrison Morris was not discouraged. He made further suggestions, among them the title finally adopted.

That, however, was not the end of the matter. In the fall of 1897 the volume appeared, and early the following January Miss Repplier wrote to her friendly adviser: "I did not send you *Varia*, because I was oppressed with doubts as to whether you wanted it, though it be your god-child. I am glad you do, and it will be a pleasure for me to give you the book."

Harrison Morris read *Varia* with keen enjoyment and so informed its author. "I am glad you like *Varia*," she wrote him, "that is if you really did like it, and those were not lying civilities you uttered. I am very much pleased with the title," the essayist went on in amusement not a little tinged with scorn, "although I have been asked if it were a novel I had published. People think it a heroine's name."

No, even when a proposed volume is to consist of a collection of essays already written, sometimes the title presents a very real problem. For sometimes the title just will not follow. And *sometimes*, be it added, the public will not follow the title.

A FAMILY OF HUGUENOT PRINTERS

Olivia S. Rogers

DURING the reign of Louis XII of France, the last feudal king of that country, a young printer came to Paris from Provence. Tradition adds that he was born of an old Provençal family, of that cultured and individualistic society that had been so ravaged by the Albigensian Crusade two centuries before. It is not possible to prove such a genealogy, and yet the thought arises whether in the veins of this young Henri Estienne there may not have flowed the blood of a pre-Reformation schismatic or of a devil-worshipping Manichee.

It is a question of some interest in the light of the printer's descendants. As for Henri Estienne himself, the facts are few enough. He married the daughter of a Paris printer, Higman, in the manner of many an impecunious young man of the day. Higman has left only one trace of his personality behind him, the common plight of a printer of the day: he was accused of having printed proscribed books and was threatened with the halter if he continued. It is not unlikely that his son-in-law shared his independent spirit. The books that issued from the Estienne printing shop in the rue Saint Jacques were nearly all innocuous Latin editions of standard works, but among the staid Ciceros and Aristotles are listed such names as those of Erasmus, Dionysius the Areopagite, illustrated curiously with mystic symbols, and Hermes Trismagistus. If Mattaire is to be trusted, this edition of Trismagistus in 1505 is the first French edition to be printed, considered antedating the so-called *editio princeps* of 1554. I have not been able to examine a copy of the Estienne edition, but if Henri Estienne added to this esoteric, neo-Platonic, neo-Pythagorean work, a preface of his own, it should prove revealing.

Estienne's associates during this period were those learned and radical artisans whose strength shaped the French Renaissance and Reformation. Notable among these was Geoffroy Tory. Tory, whose printing device, the famous *pot cassé*, immortalized the death of a beloved daughter, lent his cunning hand to the design-

ing of the Estienne type and type ornaments in the new, neo-classical style. As one would expect, the fonts are a complete break with the earlier tradition of black letter and bastard, and are typical of the Italian influence in Tory's work. Another innovator of Italian ideas, Simon de Colines, became Henri's associate and employee, and on the latter's death in 1520, married the widow Estienne, and managed the firm until the maturity of the sons of the family.

This was the beginning of a new era in France. In 1515, Francis I had ascended the throne in the name of the house of Valois. More than merely the connoisseur of beautiful women that modern biographers have so loved to picture him, he was a man of imagination and ambition. Like him, his talented sister Marguerite of Navarre has also suffered. The authoress of the *Heptameron* has overshadowed the mystic of the Mirror of a Sinful Soul, and overwhelmed the gentle protectress of stray philosophers and poets with ribald laughter.

Francis I was no mystic, no philosopher. Like his sister, however, he wished to be known as a patron of learning, and it is reported that he saved at least one printer from the wrath of the School of Theology "because of his great erudition." He hoped to see his courts filled with artists and scholars to reflect the glory of the Valois to the world, as the Italian scholars and artists reflected the splendor of the Medici. On the advice of that indefatigable and persistent scholar, Guillaume Budé, he appointed *lecteurs royaux*, readers in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, later to form the nucleus of the illustrious College de France. To aid their research, he also ordered the appointment of "King's printers" to furnish printed texts in those languages. One of these printers was Robert Estienne, son of Henri.

Robert Estienne had allied himself closely to the anti-church, radical, even Huguenot if you like, group in Paris. His own brother, François, had already embroiled himself in a legal tangle over the printing of certain unauthorized books, and he himself had married Perette Bade, daughter of the great humanist and scholar, Josse Bade. Bade was outspoken in his denunciation of the abuses of church power, and, a familiar concurrence, was also the leader among those who praised the revival of learning,

while at the same time he urged the development of the vulgar tongues. As for Perette, her son has left a charming picture of her management, not without difficulties, of the Estienne establishment, where the only language spoken was Latin.

Henri Estienne did not adopt a single unvarying printing device, so Robert chose for the establishment a cut of a pruned tree with first the motto, *Plus olei quam vini*, and later, *Noli altum sapere sed time*. Some variations occur. The origin of the device has been a matter of much discussion, some scholars even reverting to an unverified ancestor who bore the name of Mont-Olivet. Mattaire's reference to Alciati is undoubtedly the most illuminating. Chrétien Wechsel's edition of 1534 of the *Emblemata* had already appeared, and notable among the additions which this other Huguenot printer made to the original was one of a cut of a pruned tree with the motto, *Vino prudentiam augeri*. That Estienne should copy, or perhaps even borrow, a cut, add a new motto and use it for his own is the most natural thing possible. The discrepancy between the cut, which shows some very clear grape clusters, and the motto "More oil than wine" may have led to the second device with the quotation from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which refers to the drastic fate awaiting those who follow not the true faith. However he arrived at his choice, the thought implied was inauspicious. Already his first large publication, a New Testament in 1523, printed under the eye of Simon de Colines, had aroused the Sorbonne. "Look," the professors of theology cried, "mere lads are now trying to instruct us in the New Testament! Have I spent more than fifty years of study not to know what the New Testament should be?"

After such a persecution, Robert turned to the composing of a Latin dictionary, the monumental *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, for almost two hundred years a standard tool. Yet he also published editions of the works of Erasmus and Melancthon, he was the friend of Clément Marot, the brilliant and wayward member of the Pleiades, he was witness to the persecution of Jean Calvin—no, undoubtedly, other things besides the expert editing of a text engaged his interest.

Outwardly, however, he had proved scholarly enough, and harmless enough, to receive the appointment as Royal Printer,

first in Hebrew and Latin, and later in Greek. On the King's commission, Claude Garamond, traveling through France at this time, had executed for Estienne a set of beautiful Greek fonts, reputedly designed from the script of a famous calligrapher of the day, Ange Vergece. Modern taste has proved unsympathetic to script, or italic, type-faces, yet these withstand critical scrutiny. The sizes are matched, though not yet exact reproductions to scale, ligatures are numerous, and the style is simpler and less broken than that of Aldus. The printed page, even in the smaller sizes, has an agreeable clarity and evenness.

Estienne used this type in printing his folio edition of the New Testament, in 1550, based, according to his critics, on "Erasmian" emendations of the Vulgate text. This time, fortune and patrons were against him. The Sorbonne had grown less merciful with the increase of anti-church feeling, and Francis I, Estienne's patron, was dead, leaving as a national memento to his disastrous Italian campaigns a strong-willed Italian daughter-in-law to rule the country through a series of puppet kings. The Italian daughter-in-law was Catherine de Medici, a bloody princess, who would live to see her husband and her three sons all kings—of the same throne.

Robert found it expedient to leave for Geneva, and took with him the Garamond type. It may well be that he felt it to be his to take, since the matrices were left with the royal press and new type could be cast from those. He left the printing firm in the hands of his brother Charles, whose ability as a scholar and medical doctor proved inadequate for the administration of the business. It is said that he ended in bankruptcy.

In Geneva, Robert found himself in a friendly, Protestant community. There he renewed his association with Jean Calvin, and the several editions which he published of Calvin's works date from this time. There also he devoted the last years of his life to the education of the talented son who had accompanied him into exile, and to whom the business at Geneva passed in 1559.

This son, Henri Estienne, was destined to be the most famous of the Estienne family. As a child prodigy, he had learned Greek before Latin, in a household where the main language spoken was Latin. As a youth he had traveled through the countries of

Europe, to meet the right people and to collect manuscripts for publication. Legend shows him studying at the Aldine press, meeting Edward VI of England, astonishing scholars all over the world with his knowledge of Greek. Most of these stories have only the authority of Henri himself. However there is no doubt about the manuscripts that this remarkable boy collected. In 1554 under his father's supervision, he began to print his "first editions": the complete Agamemnon, hitherto lost works of Ibycus, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

It would have been well if Henri had remained merely a scholar and savant of the classics. Unfortunately, as his father had been uncompromising and determined, he himself was self-assured, conceited, and subject to that melancholy which produces erratic behavior. He himself tells of his passion for the classics, and yet there were days when the sight of his books made him rebel. On such days he turned to the designing of types, and to the cutting of wooden models for type. No trace is left of these, but there is something about the story that has a ring of truth in it. One passion, however, this self-appointed exile never wearied of, and that was his love for his native country and language. Where Robert wrote in Latin, Henri wrote in French; where Robert risked his life for the belief of the soul's direct and uninterceded approach to God, Henri risked his for a truly French nation ruled by a French king. In France, he saw the court ruled by an Italian despot, and the streets of Paris filled with Italian cloaks and Italian words. His word for the Italian was "poltron," as he said, "to pay the Italian in his own coin!"

For Henri the edict of tolerance of 1562, issued by Catherine, was a political maneuver, all the more shameless as the devastating religious wars of France continued. In 1566, in protest, he wrote his *Apologie pour Herodote*, a book of modern marvels designed to make Herodotus, the archetypal Munchausen, blush. The stories are *fabliaux*, written in the dry and witty style which is characteristic of Henri's prose. Under the classical title, the Geneva consistory saw the double sin of immorality and political satire. The self-consciously puritanical authorities descended in wrath upon the printer, and those marvels which were too wonderful were promptly removed. The lack did not much affect

the timeless appeal of the stories which were left, and aided by the open whisper of "Rabelaisianism," the book was popular beyond words. In the same stroke, his reputation was fixed as a brilliant but irreverent writer.

His following works attempted, on a more scholarly level, to continue the attack on Italianists and Italianisms in French life. It was his theory that French derived its roots, not from Latin, but from Greek. This made Italian not the elder sister but a distant relative. *Le Traité de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, and more important, his four volume folio *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, published in 1572, are devoted to his theory. This latter, which was meant to complement his father's *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, is still remarkable as a brilliant but distorted piece of scholarship. The etymologies, carefully avoiding the proper Latin origin, are traced by devious and cunning methods back to a Greek cognate, and one is almost convinced by the originality of the idea.

While Henri worked on his erroneous philology, affairs in France had come to a crisis. Inflamed with hatred of the growing eminence of such Protestants as Condé and Coligny, Catherine de Medici, through her obedient sons, had renewed persecutions of schismatic groups. In the same year in which the little Genevoise printer hopefully risked most of his capital in the printing of a large and expensive dictionary, she permitted, or ordered, the atrocity which historians have called the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

It was after all an event which concerned only Paris, and to Catherine de Medici it may not have seemed extraordinary. But to the more conservative French it was almost a national insult. Machiavelli's *Prince* had been published in a French translation by the Paris house of Estienne in 1553, and his illusionless realism had shocked French readers. It is not surprising that Henri Estienne should feel that these depraved Italians, this Machiavelli, this Catherine de Medici, were responsible for the shedding of French blood. In 1576, an anonymous work appeared bearing the title, *Discours Merveilleux de la Vie de Catherine de Medicis*. Catherine appears with all the panoply of a Borgia, playing politics, love, and religion with equal faithlessness, and keeping

in her retinue her personal poisoner. At the mercy of this murderous mother is pictured the young Henri III, like a young Bayard, the perfect chevalier, in imminent peril of being slain. The book was immediately attributed to Henri Estienne and popular fancy nicknamed it "the life of Saint Catherine."

Two years after this, he published another attack on the French court, called *Dialogues du langage françois italianizé*. It consists of a series of satiric dialogues between two young gallants, Philausone and Celtophile. In the background one hears fragments from what must have been young Henri's favorite authors, Froissart, Terence, Ovid, Maître Pathelin. The sections on garbled latinisms and hellenisms are amusing enough: he tells of his own barber, who having heard the new Italian word for blood-letting, scarify, asks politely, "Sir, may I sacrifice you?"; but on the subject of the wickedness of Italian thought, as mirrored in Italian speech, he is unrelenting in his bitterness.

Henri had been in trouble more than once before with the consistory for other works, including a set of acid epigrams. This time, it was the general opinion that the "Pantagruel of Geneva" had gone far enough. Unfortunately, Henri, never humble, expressed himself so heatedly that on his release he left for France. The death of his wife had left him lonely in Geneva, and Henri III of France, whom Estienne worshipped as much as he hated Catherine, had frequently solicited the return of this talented scholar.

His stay in France was short. France turned again violently anti-Huguenot with the Treaty of Nemours. Henri, overburdened with the debts of his large publications, particularly the *Thesaurus*, took to wandering through Germany and Austria. Biographers have pictured him as a fugitive from place to place, but the greater probability was that he was following the great German book fairs, in hopes of amassing enough capital to return to printing. Meanwhile, his children carried on the printing trade, Paul, in particular, devoting himself to bringing out new editions of his unfortunate father's works.

It was as a scholar and a writer that Henri Estienne achieved his fame. As a printer he introduced no innovation, and it would be difficult, apart from context, to differentiate one of his editions

from one of his father's. It was said of Henri that his paper was poorer, his typesetting more careless, but much of this criticism is based on the report of the scholar Casaubon, his son-in-law, who was much prejudiced against him. Examination of those editions which have survived show perhaps a drop in the quality of the paper, typical of a general change in printing standards throughout Europe, but no other Estienne lived to see the tragic death of his beloved Henri III. He did not survive him long enough to appreciate the achievement of Henri IV, who coming from Huguenot stock, yet retaining the title of Catholic ruler, was to bring together the warring nation under a French ruler, for a period of fruitfulness and prosperity.

THE DEVIL TO PAY

A Preliminary Check List

Arthur H. Scouten and Leo Hughes

IN 1731 Thomas Jevon's *The Devil of a Wife*, which first appeared in 1686, was altered, shortened, and produced under the title of *The Devil to Pay*. A popular play when originally produced in the seventeenth century, in its new version it became the most popular ballad-opera farce of the British stage. As a consequence, the play was published again and again over a period of a century and a half. No better evidence of its acclaim can be offered than a record of the many editions of it which were issued. We have examined nearly fifty editions of the play and have noted several more that we have been unable to see or to find, so that the total number runs to about fifty-three. No doubt there are others of which we have no knowledge.

The history of the earliest issues of the play is both interesting and confusing enough to require some comment on the list of editions. It seems to have been generally supposed that the new version, in three acts, was printed sometime after it was produced on the stage and that, when this version proved unpopular, it was further reduced to one act and printed in 1732, this second version forming the basis of subsequent editions.¹ This account, as we shall try to show, is greatly oversimplified.

The first edition of the new version, *The Devil to Pay*, in three acts, was published on August 11 or 12, 1731, just short of a week after its première.² Its bibliographical history immediately becomes confused by the announcement in *Fog's Weekly Journal* of September 11, 1731, that "The Devil to Pay . . . The right Book of the Droll . . . is Printed and Sold by G. Lee, in Blue-Maid-Alley, Southwark; and all others (not Printed by him) are false." No such printer is noted in the *Dictionary of the Printers and*

¹ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, 1700-1750, p. 315.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, I (1731), 359; *Grub-Street Journal*, August 19, 1731; from the *Monthly Chronicle*, IV (1731), 163, we can be certain that this was the three-act version because of the announced price.

Booksellers . . . in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775 ([London] 1932) and the possibility arises that, while there may conceivably have been such a printer, this advertisement may also have been inserted by Watts, the printer of the first edition, as an oblique means of advertising the work. In any event, no copy of such an edition can today be traced. From the forthcoming printings, however, two distinct lines of textual descent may be observed. Before the end of the year there appeared another edition, in one act with eighteen songs. This edition was re-issued in 1732, and in the same year George Faulkner used the same text in a Dublin printing, which he labelled on the title-page as "The Fifth Edition." And again in 1746 this text was used for yet another Dublin edition.

Meanwhile, in 1732, an edition in one act but with sixteen songs had been printed, the text of which was based upon the three-act edition of 1731. It became the standard text for the later London printings until the last quarter of the century when the play was again revised and made into a two-act piece, an alteration that was continued in many nineteenth-century editions. The one-act version was also represented in nineteenth-century collections, but with several changes in the opening scenes, including a game of blind man's buff and other *lazzi*. Further revisions are indicated by new titles: in 1852, Alfred Bunn brought the piece out as *The Devil's in It*, and in the same year it was produced in New York as *The Basket Maker's Wife*; and finally, on July 8, 1871, the indefatigable J. P. Simpson revived the farce as *Letty the Basket Maker*.

For the first twenty-five years or so Watts retained control of the London issues of the play, except for two apparently pirated editions (Nos. 10 and 12), and then assigned it to Lowndes, who brought out at least two editions. Shortly thereafter the first cheap collections of plays, such as those of Wenman and Bell, began to appear. In these *The Devil to Pay* almost invariably found a place unless the publisher was restricting himself to full-length plays.

1. The|Devil to Pay;|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|[rule]|Written by the Author of The Beggars Wedding.|[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|

[rule]|With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|[double rule]|London,|
Printed for J. Watts, at the Printing-Office|in Wild-Court near
Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. |[rule]|MDCCXXXI.| Price One Shilling and
Six Pence.

Octavo. vii, 72 p. A⁴, B-E⁸, F⁴.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r & v-A3r, dedication to
Lionel Cranfield, duke of Dorset; A3v, table of 42 songs; A4r, pro-
logue spoken by Mr. Theoph. Cibber; A4v, dramatis personae;
B1r-F2v, text; F3 & 4r & v, list of books printed for J. Watts.

In three acts. The headpiece has a central figure seated under
canopy, flanked by birds.

Copies examined: MH (lacks F4), NN.

2. [The Devil to Pay: Or, The Wives Metamorphos'd . . . with above
30 New Songs . . . The right Book of the Droll . . . is Printed
and Sold by G. Lee, in Blue-Maid-Alley, Southwark; and all others
(not Printed by him) are false.]

Cited from *Fog's Weekly Journal*, September 11, 1731. For a dis-
cussion of this item see the prefatory note.

3. The|Devil to Pay;|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it
is Perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's
Servants.|[rule]|Written by the Author of The Beggars Wedding.|
[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|
[rule]|With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|[double rule]|London,|
Printed for J. Watts at the Printing-Office in|Wild-Court near
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.|[rule]|MDCCXXXI.|Price One Shilling.

Octavo. viii, 31 p. A-E⁴.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r & v-A3r, dedication;
A3v, table of 18 songs; A4r, prologue; A4v, dramatis personae;
B1r-E4r, text; E4v, blank.

In one act. The cast contains Stopelaer, Berry, Fielding, Wright,
Gray, Harper, Oates, Mrs. Grace, Miss Oates, Miss Williams, Miss
Raftor. Jobson's query at the end of the play reads "Cuckold, under
the Rose?"

Copies examined: TxU, NN, DLC.

4. The|Devil to Pay;|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it
is Perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's
Servants.|[rule]|Written by the Author of The Beggars Wedding.|
[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|
[rule]|With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|[double rule]|London,|

Printed for J. Watts at the Printing-Office in|Wild-Court near
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.|[*short rule*] MDCCXXXII.|Price One Shilling.

Octavo in half sheets. viii, 31 p. A-E⁴.

Copies examined: ICN, MH.

5. The|Devil to Pay;|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it
is Perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's
Servants.|[*rule*]Written by the Author of The Beggars Wedding.|
[*rule*]In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|
[*rule*]With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|[*double rule*]London,|
Printed for J. Watts at the Printing-Office in|Wild-Court near
Lincoln's-Inn Fields.|[*rule*]MDCCXXXII|Price One Shilling.

Octavo in half sheets. viii, 31 p. A-E⁴.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r & v-A3r, dedication;
A3v, table of 16 songs; A4r, prologue; A4v, dramatis personae;
B1r-E4r, text; E4v, blank.

In one act. Of the 16 songs, Airs 1, 2, 13, 16, and 17 of the previous
edition are omitted, the first stanza of Air 7 is omitted, and three
airs have been restored from the first edition, the most important
(for our purpose here) being "In Bath a wanton wife did dwell."
The cast has Wetherelt and Leigh in place of Fielding and Wright,
and "Sir Richard," a carry-over from the text of Jevon's version, is
changed to "Sir John." Jobson's query now reads "Buck of me
under the Rose?"

This edition begins a new line of textual descent and will be used,
as Professor Nicoll states, as a basis for most of the later editions.

Copy examined: TxU.

6. The|Devil to Pay;|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is
Acted at the|Theatres-Royal, in|London and Dublin.|[*rule*]In nova
feret [*sic*] animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|[*rule*]
The Fifth Edition.|[*double rule*]London; Printed. And|Dublin Re-
printed and Sold, by|George Faulkner, in Essex-Street,|M,DCC,
XXXII.

Octavo in half sheets. 32 p. [A]², [B]-D⁴, [E]².

Contents: [A1]r, title-page; [A1]v-[A2]r, list of books published by
Faulkner; [A2]v, dramatis personae; [B1]r-[E2]v, text.

In one act. The cast contains Sheridan, F. Elrington, Reynolds,
Hamilton, Alcorn, Layfield, Mrs. Lyddel, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs.
Shane, Mrs. Reynolds.

The presence of Sheridan's name here is very puzzling. The actor Thomas Sheridan was not born until 1719 and manifestly could not have taken a leading role in the performance announced for February 24, 1732, according to the notes made by Kemble from the *Dublin Journal*. (Kemble listed only three of the performers, not the whole cast that is found in the printing of the Dublin edition.) Since Sheridan did act in the play later on, one might be suspicious of the imprint date on this issue; however, a dated title-page is difficult to controvert without real evidence.

The text of this play is taken from that in No. 3, representing the other line of textual descent. Jobson's query is "Cuckold, under the Rose?"

Copy examined: CtY.

7. Nicoll lists a 1732, duodecimo, edition, which we have not seen.
8. Nicoll lists a 1732, quarto, engraved edition, which we have not seen.
9. The British Museum Catalogue lists a 24 page octavo edition, dated 1733, with label "fifth edition" on the title-page.
10. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Perform'd at the|Theatre Royal|in|Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|[rule]|With a Table of the Songs.|[2 rules]|London:|Printed by Ed. Cook, near St. Paul's-Church-Yard.|M.DCC.XXXVI.

Duodecimo in half sheets. 36 p. A-C⁶.

Contents: A1r, blank; A1v, frontispiece (Lady beating maids; fiddler and broken fiddle in front stage); A2r, title-page; A2v, blank; A3r, table of 16 songs; A3v, prologue by Cibber; A4r, dramatis personae; A4v-C6v, text.

Songs and cast as in No. 5. This is the first pirated edition. Its text is from that of No. 5. Jobson's query is "Buck of me, under the Rose?"

Copy examined: IU.

11. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|[rule]|With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|[scroll]|London:|Printed for J. Watts at the Printing-Office in|Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.|[rule]|Price One Shilling|MDCCXXXVIII.

Octavo in half sheets. x, 30 p. A-E⁴. Title, sub-title, theatre and date in red.

Contents: A1r, blank; A1v, frontispiece; A2r, title-page; A2v, blank; A3r-A4r, dedication; A4v, table of 16 songs; B1r, prologue; B1v, *dramatis personae*; B2r-E4v, text.

A new edition, but based on No. 5, with a new cast containing Beard, Turbutt, Leigh, Gray, Marshall, Harper, Hill, Mrs. Pritchard, Miss Brett, Miss Bennet, Mrs. Clive.

Copies examined: TxU, D^{Fo}, MB.

12. [Scroll] The[Devil to Pay:]Or,[The Wives Metamorphos'd]An Operatical[Farce.]As it is Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal[In Drury-Lane,]By His Majesty's Servants.[*scroll*]

Octavo in half sheets. 31 p. [B-C]⁴, D⁴, [E]⁴. The title-page is a cancel leaf, without imprint.

The first gathering, B, of fours has horizontal chain lines, but the other three gatherings (C, D, and E) have vertical chain lines and were presumably printed in octavo in half sheets. Page 17 is signed D; the other gatherings are unsigned.

Contents: [B1]r, title-page; [B1]v, blank; [B2]r & v, dedication; [B3]r, prologue; [B3]v, *dramatis personae*; [B4]r-[E3]v, text; [E4]r, table of 16 songs; [E4]v, blank.

Second pirated edition, with text as in No. 5. Because the cast is that found in No. 11, this printing must follow it. There is a large peacock and cornucopia scroll on p. 7 and some ornaments in the two pages of the dedication, both similar to those used by the printer J. Darby. Darby, however, died in 1733.

"H. Grimston" is written in ink on the title-page of the Folger copy. The dates of acquisition of other plays collected by Grimston range from 1732 to 1750. Possibly printed about 1740.

Copy examined: D^{Fo}.

13. The[Devil to Pay;]or, the[Wives Metamorphos'd.]An[Opera.]As it is Acted at the[Theatres-Royal, in]London and Dublin.[*rule*]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.[*rule*]|The Eighth Edition.[*double rule*]|Dublin:Printed by E. Bate, for Joseph Cotter, in|Skinner-Row, MDCCXLVI.

Octavo in half sheets. 31 p. A-D⁴.

Contents: [A]1r, title-page; A2v, *Dramatis personae*; A2v-[D]4r, text; [D]4v, blank.

Printed from No. 6; hence the text follows that of No. 3 rather than No. 5. The cast is like No. 6, except for addition of "Doctor-Mr. Dash" and a correction to Layfield. The songs derive from No. 3, Airs 5 and 7 being omitted. Air 10 of No. 5, however, is inserted, though not numbered, "In Bath a wanton Wife, etc." Jobson's query is "Cuckold, under the Rose?" Leaf A4v is numbered both "6" and "8", the latter being correct.

Copy described: W. A. Clark Library.

14. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Perform'd at the|Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|*[rule]*|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|*[rule]*|With the Musick prefix'd to each Song.|*[scroll]*|London:|Printed for J. Watts at the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.|*[rule]*|MDCCXLVIII. Price One Shilling.

Octavo in half sheets. x, 30 p. A-E⁴.

Collation as in No. 11. Text, songs, and cast as in No. 9.

Copies examined: DLC. DfO. CtY.

15. The Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Perform'd at the|Theatre Royal,|in|Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|London:|Printed by Assignment from Mr. Watts,|for T. Lownds, at his Circulating Library|in Fleet-Street. MDCC-LVIII. (Price Sixpence.)

Collation, as provided by Mrs. Gertrude L. Woodward from the Newberry Library copy: "p. [i]-iv, [1]-35. A-C⁶. Duodecimo (?); chain lines horizontal. Engraved frontispiece; Title, printed in red and black; [dedication] (p. iii-iv); Prologue (A3 recto); Dramatis Personae (A3 verso); Text p. (1)-34; A Table of the Songs (p. 35)."

16. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is performed at the|Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|corpora—Ovid.|Glasgow:|Printed in the year MDCCLXI.

Duodecimo in half sheets. 32 p. A-B⁶, C⁴.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r & v, dedication; A3r, prologue; A3v, dramatis personae; A4r-C4r, text; C4v, table of 16 songs.

Text based on No. 11; songs and cast as in No. 11. Probably a pirated edition.

Copy examined: DLC.

We do not list an edition possibly printed about this time by Magee in Belfast. He includes it in a list of plays printed and sold by him in an edition of *The Vintner Trick'd* (1766).

17. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Performed at the|Theatre-Royal|in|Drury-Lane,|By His Majesty's Servants.|[rule]|In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|[double rule]|London:|Printed for the Proprietors; and sold by the|Booksellers in Town and Country.|M.DCC.LXXI.|(Price Six-Pence.)

Duodecimo in half sheets. 35 p. A-C⁶.

Contents: A1r, title-page; A1v, blank; A2r & v, dedication; A3r, prologue; A3v dramatis personae; A4r-C5v, text; C6r, table of 16 songs; C6v, blank. Cast and songs as in No. 11.

The Folger copy is Tate Wilkinson's interleaved prompt copy, with inked changes removing two songs and dividing the piece into two acts.

18. The|Devil to Pay:|or, the|Wives Metamorphos'd.|An|Opera.|As it is Performed at the Theatres-Royal,|By His Majesty's Servants.|[rule]|In nova fert mutatas dicere formas|Corpora—Ovid.|[rule]|[printer's ornament]||[2 rules]|London:|Printed for T. Lowndes, No. 77, in Fleet-street,|MDCCLXXI.

Duodecimo. 48 p. A-B¹².

Contents: A1r, blank; A1v, frontispiece; A2r, title-page; A2v, blank; A3r & v, dedication; A4r, prologue; A4v, dramatis personae; A5r-B6v, text; B7r, table of 16 songs; B8-B12, lists of books for sale. Cast and songs as in No. 11.

Copies examined: NN, DFO.

In an edition of *The Stage Coach* which Lowndes brought out in 1766, he lists *The Devil to Pay* for sale in octavo at a shilling and in duodecimo at sixpence.

Later publications are listed here in short-title form, with re-issues grouped together.

The Devil to Pay. London: J. Wenman, [1777?]

The Devil to Pay. In Bell's Supplement, I, 64–68. 1784.

The Devil to Pay. *In A Collection of the Most Esteemed Farces and Entertainments*, I, 37–59. North Shields: Printed by and for W. Thompson, 1786; reprinted, II, 64–68, Edinburgh, 1792.

The Devil to Pay . . . An Opera. London: H. D. Symonds, [ca.1790].

From the cast, we can conclude that the printing was between December 17, 1788, when Mrs. Jordan first played Nell, and 1791, when Williames' name no longer appears in the bill.

The Devil to Pay . . . An Opera. London: J. Barker.

Though conjecturally dated ca.1799 by the New York Public Library, the date seems much earlier. The title-page is a cancel, and the leaves of the book are printed in a type of twenty years previous. The sheets may represent remainders from one of Lowndes' issues.

The Devil to Pay. *In The British Drama*, III, 33–43. London: for W. Miller, printed by James Ballantyne, Edinburgh, 1804.

The Devil to Pay . . . A Farce. London: for John Sharpe, by C. Whittingham, 1805; reprinted in Vol. 14 of Sharpe's *British Theatre*.

The Devil to Pay. An Opera. *In A Collection of Farces and Other After-pieces, Selected by Mrs. Inchbald*, V, 107–137. London: Longham, *et al.*, 1809; reprinted in 1815.

The Devil to Pay . . . An Opera. London: J. Roach. [ca.1809].

The printed cast includes J. Smith, Miller, Mrs. Chatterly, and Miss Mellon (as Nell). Since Mrs. Chatterly was with the company apparently only when it was at the Lyceum (1809–1811), since Smith and Miller began acting about that time, and since Mrs. Jordan did not give up the role of Nell at Drury Lane until 1809, this edition may have been issued about this time.

The Devil to Pay . . . *In The Modern British Drama*, V, 78–87. London: for W. Miller, by Wm. Savage, 1811.

The Devil to Pay . . . A ballad Farce. London: for Whittingham and Arliss, by C. Whittingham, 1815; *in Dibdin's London Theatre*, III, 1814–1825.

The Devil to Pay. An Opera. *In London Theatre*, XIII. 1816.

The Devil to Pay . . . A Farce. In two acts. New York: D. Longworth, 1816. First American edition.

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. *In* The Cabinet Theatre, XI. London: D. S. Maurice, [ca.1819]; reprinted in English Theatre, XIV, London: D. S. Maurice, sold by T. Hughes, [ca.1821]; reprinted in English Theatre, V, London: D. S. Maurice, [ca.1826].

The Devil to Pay. A ballad farce. New York: C. Wiley, 1824; reprinted in A Collection of English Plays with American Imprints.

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. *In* Oxberry's Drama, II. London: for the Proprietors, by W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, and C. Chapple, 1824.

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. *In* The British Drama, I, 108–115 London: Jones & Company, 1824; reprinted in The London Stage, I, London: Sherwood, Jones and Company, 1825 (frontispiece to Vol. I dated Feb. 1, 1825); reprinted in The London State, IV, London: Sherwood and Company, [ca.1825]; reprinted in The British Drama, I, 108–115, Philadelphia: J. J. Woodward, stereotyped by L. Johnson, 1832; reprinted in The British Drama, I, 108–115, Philadelphia: Thomas Davis, 1850; in The British Drama, I, 108–115, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company, by M. Pollock, 1859.

The Devil to Pay. A Comic Opera, in two acts. No. 44, Lea's Illustrated British Drama and Theatrical Portrait Gallery. London: Henry Lea, [ca.1827].

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. London: Thomas Richardson, 1831.

The Devil to Pay. A Comic Opera, in two acts. London: John Cumberland, [ca.1830–37]; reprinted [ca.1838].

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. London: G. Vickers, 1847.

The Devil to Pay. A Ballad Farce. *In* The British Drama, I. London: John Dicks, 1864; reprinted in The British Drama, No. 2, 113–128, London: J. Dicks, [ca.1865]; reprinted in Dicks' Standard Plays, [ca.1879].

THE GODFRAY EDITION OF PROVERBS AND ECCLESIASTES

Charles C. Butterworth

RECENTLY, through the courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd. and the collaboration of Miss Sylvia L. England, of London, a transcript was received of a few chapters from the Godfray edition of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (STC 2752), to which reference was made in the *Library Chronicle* of October, 1947. The fresh evidence indicates, with virtual certainty, that the English version printed by Godfray was in fact the work of George Joye.

It was pointed out in the October issue that Joye's second edition of the New Testament (STC 2827) included among the so-called "epistles" taken from the Old Testament a passage from Proverbs (31: 10-31) as the "epistle" for St. Mary Magdalen's day, and that the translation as printed therein was entirely different from the one used by Tyndale where the same passage occurs in his New Testament of November 1534.

It now turns out that the version of this passage as contained in the Godfray edition of "The proverbes of Solomon newly translated into Englyshe" is practically identical with the one given in Joye's New Testament. Except for the opening words of verses 10 and 12 and part of verse 15, the two versions agree word for word. In the Godfray edition the passage begins:

An honest chaste wyfe whoso findeth: he findeth a better treasure than any precieuse stone or perle.

Her husbondes hert is glued vnto her/& his houshold stuffe shall nat wast

She shal gyue him yt that good is & neuer none yuell.

She wyll handle woll & flaxe it is gret pleasure for her to laye her handes to labour.

She is lyke the marchants shippe/bringyng goodes from a farre.

She aryseth in ye night to prepare meat for his household & pullen.

In the New Testament (STC 2827), which was dated January 9, 1535, the corresponding portion reads:

A constant faythfull wyfe who so fyndeth: he fyndeth a beter tresure then anye precieuse stone or pearle. Her housbondis herte is glwed vnto hir/& his houshold stuffe shal not waaste. She shal euer geue him that at good is/& neuer none euyl. She wyll handle woll & flaxe/it is grete pleasure for hyr to laye hyr handis to labour. She is lyke the marchants shippe bringing good from a farre. She aryseth erely to prepare meat for his housholde and minister worke to hir maydens.

The unusual word *pullen* in the Godfray text (verse 15) signifies poultry. How Joye got this reading is unexplained, but it appears that he altered it in the "epistle" under the influence of Tyndale's rendering of the same verse:

She ryseth yer daye and geueth meate to hir houshold/& fode to hir maydens.

Also Joye's use of "A constant faythfull wyfe" in place of "An honest chaste wyfe" seems to have been a second thought. These changes would indicate that the readings in the Godfray edition were earlier than January 1535; but it is not certain that they were actually printed earlier.

Joye was at Antwerp in all probability until the spring of 1535. In June he was at Calais, according to the report of Edward Foxe (see *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 8, No. 823), who advised Cromwell that Joye was ready to behave himself and should be allowed to return to England. If these premises be sound, it is at least a tenable hypothesis that Joye translated the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes during 1533 or 1534 and kept the manuscript by him; that he dipped into it for the "epistle" for Mary Magdalen's day, amending one or two details; that he returned to London about July of 1535, bringing his manuscript with him; and that he then gave it into Godfray's hands, who printed it in the summer of 1535 as "newly translated."

The ascription of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes to Joye is significant in that it completes a section comprising about a third of the Old Testament, from Psalms to Lamentations, except for the Song of Solomon (which is doubtful), all of which Joye had

translated and published before the appearance of the Coverdale Bible in October 1535.

In view of the rarity and almost total obscurity of these two unique Godfray volumes, perhaps it may be permissible to quote a few more verses from this same final chapter of Proverbs:

She consydereth lande & buyeth it/makynge it a vyneyarde with her owne handes.

She tucketh vp her self & stretcheth forth her armes vnto labor. . . .

She speketh wysely/& a swete grace is there in her tonge. . . .

Deceytfull is beaute/& propre shape begyleth: but the wife that fereth god shalbe praysed.

Gyue her of her owne labours that her owne workes may prayse her in the gates.

THE LIBRARY

The Speiser Drama Collection

AMONG the notable gifts to the University of Pennsylvania Library in recent months, that of the Herbert Arnold Speiser Drama Collection is pre-eminent. Comprising some 1500 volumes written for or about the theatre, the Collection was presented to the University by Mr. and Mrs. Maurice J. Speiser, of New York, in memory of their son Herbert, a graduate of the Biddle Law School in 1926.

A formal ceremony was held in the Furness Memorial Library on December 5, 1947, when Mr. Raymond A. Speiser, brother of Herbert Speiser, presented the Collection to the University on behalf of his parents. At that time Mr. Speiser made one stipulation regarding the Collection, that his parents be permitted the privilege of adding to it in the future. President McClelland spoke briefly in accepting the gift, while Professor Quinn also described some of the problems of building a drama collection. Among those present at the ceremony were Paul Muni, Blanche Yurka, and Stella Adler.

Brought together over a period of forty years, the Speiser Collection provides a comprehensive survey of both American and European dramatic material, as well as of works on theatrical history, biography, design and costume, and also of material relating to motion pictures.

For the Collection Mr. E. McKnight Kauffer, a friend of Mr. and Mrs. Speiser, has designed a special bookplate. For many years a resident of England, Mr. Kauffer achieved fame there as an artist and designer, winning international notice. His paintings are represented in museums both in England and America, and also in Italy. In 1937 the Museum of Modern Art, in New York, held a retrospective exhibition of his posters, which had been preceded by similar exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford in 1936.

The Franklin Collection

IN connection with the celebration of Founder's Day on Franklin's birthday, January 17th, the Library was able to exhibit numerous recently acquired books and manuscripts relating to him.

Notable among these is a letter of particular interest for its association with the University, the gift of Mr. D. Jacques Benoliel. Written by Franklin from London on February 5, 1772, the letter is addressed to Dr. John Morgan, thanking Morgan for having sent him copies of the inaugural dissertations of the first graduating class of the medical school which Morgan had founded. Franklin expresses his pleasure at seeing "our College begin to make some Figure as a School of Physic" and expects that "in a few Years, with good Management, it may acquire a Reputation similar and equal to that in Edinburgh."

From the Honorable George Wharton Pepper the Library has also received a charming letter written by Franklin from Passy on June 23, 1783, to his grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, which reveals Franklin's understanding and affection for children.

To the Curtis Collection of Franklin Imprints the Library has been able to add a copy of the second edition of John Smith's *Doctrine of Christianity* of 1748, not previously among the Library's fine holdings of books printed by Franklin.

Among the books written by Franklin, the Library has obtained the Swedish translation of his Autobiography published in Stockholm in 1792 and the first Albany edition of 1797. A rather unusual Franklin item also newly acquired is C. Milon's *Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte Benjamin Franklins*, published in St. Petersburg in 1793.

From Mr. H. Wade White, of Waterbury, Connecticut, the Library has also received a plaque with a bust of Franklin, from the die made in 1777 by Nini, the French sculptor.

Walt Whitman

To the select group of Whitman manuscripts in the Library has been added a manuscript of Whitman's essay on Burns, purchased through funds provided by Mr. J. Roy W. Barrette, Sturges Ingersoll, Walter Biddle Saul, John A. Stevenson, and the Friends of the Library.

As with most of Whitman's manuscripts, this draft is written on varying sheets of paper, and contains copious changes and revisions, as well as directions to the printer. Pasted on the sheets are printed clippings, apparently from a newspaper appearance of an earlier version, as yet unidentified. The present version was published, with a few minor editorial changes, in *The Critic* for December 16, 1882.

With his customary economy of means Whitman reused the essay, expanding and revising it for publication in the *North American Review* for November, 1886, under the title "Robert Burns as Poet and Person." In this version the essay reached its definitive form, appearing in book form in Whitman's *November Boughs* in the same year.

The present manuscript thus represents a midway point in the development of the essay, and will be of value to the student interested in tracing the development of Whitman's style and ideas, not only regarding Burns but also regarding larger concepts of ethics and morality as they relate to Burns.

In adding this manuscript to the Rare Book Collection, the Library is following a precept set forth by Whitman himself in the final version of the essay. Referring to Burns's correspondence, collected and published after his death, which gave glimpses of both his vices and virtues, Whitman states that it is essential that we have everything possible which an author has written, for the study of a life should be the record of the whole, as well as the parts, with nothing left out. "Completely and minutely told," the life of Robert Burns, "fullest explains itself (as perhaps almost any life does)." So in turn this manuscript of Whitman's will help explain his own life and thought.

Other recent additions to the Whitman collection include a fine journal letter written by the poet to his mother from Wash-

ington, in late April, 1868, referring to the reception of *Leaves of Grass* in England and to the impeachment trial of President Johnson.

Among the manuscripts in the Whitman Collection acquired from Mrs. Frank Julian Sprague were original letters written to Mrs. Anne Gilchrist by Whitman. Feeling that it belonged with this material, the Walt Whitman Fellowship has presented to the Library a long letter written by Mrs. Gilchrist from Hampstead, dated June 15, 1880, referring in part to William Rossetti and his family.

Microphotography In The Library

THE use of microfilm reproductions in modern scholarship, and in commerce and industry, is one of the remarkable developments of our day. The facility with which records may be photographed on microfilm has unquestionably lessened the tedium and increased the accuracy of modern research, and it is now recognized that one measure of a library's excellence is its ability to provide microfilms as well as photostats of its resources.

That the University of Pennsylvania was among the earliest institutions in the Philadelphia area to appreciate and employ the potentialities of microfilm is due largely to the imagination of Miss Edith Hartwell, who has been in charge of microfilming in the Library since its beginnings in 1937. In 1939 Miss Hartwell sacrificed her own vacation in order to attend a course on the subject at Columbia, and for many years the camera and enlarging equipment used here was that furnished by her.

In the eleven years during which a microfilming service has been provided by the Library, the demand for it has grown tremendously. During the war the Library's laboratory provided the only non-commercial microfilming in Philadelphia, doing work not only for the numerous departments of the University but for industrial firms as well. The largest war-time order was the filming of all the University Treasurer's records for preservation; and, more recently, the filming of the minutes of the meet-

ings of the Trustees of the University from 1749 to the present has been undertaken.

Not only has the Library provided microfilming service, but members of its staff have also gone on elsewhere to furnish a similar service. Miss Mary Bennett, who was associated with Miss Hartwell at the inception of microfilming at Pennsylvania, left the University in 1938 to be in charge of microphotography in the Columbia University Library. In addition, after working with Miss Hartwell from 1943 to 1945, Miss Ruth Franksen, of the Library's staff, went to the American Philosophical Society to become microphotographer there.

The recent purchase of a more advanced type of camera and of additional photographic equipment should facilitate the provision of wider service, but that the Library has accomplished so much with previously limited resources is the achievement largely of Miss Hartwell.

Miss Hartwell's retirement at the end of June of this year brings to a close over thirty years of devoted service to the Library, in which her contribution to its microfilming activities is, however, but a small part.

C. W. D.

A Friesian Collection

As an important addition in the fields of comparative linguistics and of literature, the Library has recently purchased a collection of sixteen hundred volumes in the Friesian language, of interest philologically to the English-speaking world as being the branch of the Teutonic language nearest to Saxon. The language today is confined principally to the province of Friesland, in the northern Netherlands, although it is also found to the east in Hanover.

The collection divides itself into six groups. The earliest material is that which is referred to as Old West Friesian, principally texts of mediaeval Friesian law, printed and edited by Haan Hetteema and other scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The second, third and fourth groups represent Modern West Friesian. The earliest, that of seventeenth century literature, is well typified by Gysbert Japicx, the outstanding literary figure in the language. His *Friesche rymlerye* is included in the first edition of 1681. The next period, one of great activity characterized by a conscious effort to create a national literature, is well represented by authors such as J. C. P. Salverda (1783–1836), R. Posthumus (1790–1858), and the brothers Halbertsma (Eeltsje, 1797–1858, and Joost Hiddes, 1789–1869). More recent publications of the Selskip for Fryske tael en skriftekennisse (founded in 1844), Waling Dykstra (1821–1940), and the recent writings of Troelstra, Kalma and Wumkes, cover the more recent period of an established Friesian literature.

The last two groups comprise a large section of Friesian periodicals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and a small but discriminately selected critical apparatus, consisting of dictionaries, handbooks, and monographs on Friesian philology.

R. H.

Compendium Universitatis Parisiensis

IN 1928 the University of Pennsylvania Press published a translation into English of the *Compendium Universitatis Parisiensis*, written by Robert Goulet and originally published in Latin in 1517. The translation was made by Robert Belle Burke for Josiah Harmar Penniman, at that time Provost of the University.

The *Compendium* provides a valuable description of life within the University of Paris and its organization at the beginning of the sixteenth century, from sections on the proper expenditure of the student's time, and even the meals to be served, to the "Order of the University at the Funerals of Kings and Queens."

A limited number of copies of the *Compendium*, handsomely designed and printed, are available for distribution to Friends of the Library and to libraries. Requests should be directed to the Curator of Rare Books, The University of Pennsylvania Library.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

DR. GEORGE STEWART STOKES is a member of the Department of English of Temple University. The essay here published is drawn in part from his biography of Miss Agnes Repplier, to be published presently by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND THE UNIVERSITY

*Fredson T. Bowers**

I AM conscious that I am speaking not only to my colleagues in the English department, but to various other schools of study as well. I should therefore make my apologies if I seem to deal most directly with English studies, for these are what I know best. Yet I think that the general principles I have in mind actually are of wider application. No matter what the field of study, the basis lies in the analysis of the records in printed or in manuscript form, frequently the ill-ordered and incomplete records of the past. When factual or critical investigation is made of these records, there must be—it seems to me—the same care, no matter what the field, in establishing the purity and accuracy of the materials under examination, which is perhaps just another way of saying that one must establish the text on which one's far-reaching analysis is to be based; and in order that one may not be misled, one must know the accurate publishing history of the material so that false assumptions may not be made based on old editions which are not correctly dated, on forgeries, on an inability to distinguish reprints from originals, or confusion between reset textual editions, standing type, and simple reissues of old material with a new false face.

* An address delivered before a group of members of the faculty and administration of the University of Pennsylvania, May 13, 1949.

I am minded of a tempest in a teapot that occurred a while back between two Spenserian scholars, because precisely this sort of thing could happen in any field. These gentlemen had it hot and heavy at each other in print about the respective accuracy of what they had written concerning what was found in a certain eighteenth century edition of Spenser; and it was some time before the discovery was made that each had thought he was using the same edition but in fact one was using a large-paper copy and other a trade or small-paper copy, and it so happened that, unknown to everybody concerned, about one-third of the small-paper edition was in a completely different typesetting with a somewhat variant text from that of the large paper. This is an excellent case of what can happen to critical or historical scholars when they base their research on material which has not been examined bibliographically.

I rather suspect, indeed, that precisely the same sort of controversy could develop among historians using seventeenth century newspapers as source material. Last summer while going through the Harvard file of the newspaper *Mercurius Politicus* in search of book advertisements, I found several duplicate copies. In such cases my reflexes are as well conditioned as any Pavlov dog; I compared these promptly, and found the duplicate copies of the same date actually to be different typesettings with some variance in their text. Duplicate typesetting in early newspapers is not, I think, commonly recognized as a possibility—perhaps even as a normal probability when we consider the large number which had to be printed in short order on a relatively slow hand press. Hence it seems that historians relying in these newspapers can never be entirely sure of their ground until a very large-scale bibliographical job is done on this material.

But first I had better define just what it is I am talking about, for “bibliography” is a loosely employed and much abused word. First let me utterly cast aside the kind of gossiping about books which is written by and published for amateur collectors and which reaches its nadir in some so-called bibliographies of modern authors or in book-collectors manuals. This sort of thing is usually quite incompetent or irrelevant from any professional point of view, and since it is often in the public eye it has given

a bad name to the whole subject, especially as bibliography may apply to rare books or collected items. There is no reason why scholarship cannot be applied to bibliographical work with modern books, although there are very severe difficulties in the way; but what is usually produced by and for collectors comes under no definition of scholarship with which I am acquainted.

On the other hand, I have respect for what is perhaps the commonest idea of what constitutes bibliography. This is the compiling of lists of books for the basic purposes of information. We are all familiar with the two fundamental categories. First, the listing of original material, such as lists of scientific incunabula, which any historian of science must know about; early editions of Euclid; or the Short-title Catalogues of books printed before 1640 and before 1700; the listing of the English and continental early editions of the historian Gibbon, of the scientist Boyle or the theologian Fuller. Second, the listing of research done about this original material, as in the annual bibliographies in various learned journals in history, American literature, Renaissance studies, and so on.

As I shall indicate later, students must be familiarized with the vast growth of such bibliographical material, and in order to familiarize themselves with the material, they may properly be assigned problems in it or be made to work up checklists as a kind of study associated with their particular research. Whatever their nature, these lists or "bibliographies" are in some sense a collection of library cards conveniently assembled in one place and bearing on one subject. They are, of course, the very foundation of scholarship, for unless one knows where to turn quickly and conveniently for all available material on any subject, infinite hours are wasted in desultory search. All fields of study combine in their needs for such collections. We are particularly rich in these resources for English, but I have heard friends in other fields complain bitterly about incompleteness in theirs and the resulting difficulties of research. I think that if departments would accept such lists in annotated form as masters theses, we should accumulate the necessary material more rapidly.

Every student must therefore know something about the subject, but the compilation of such purely enumerative bibliographies is not, I think, an operation of scholarship quite on a level with the forms of scholarship which make up graduate instruction for the doctorate. In its teaching on an over-all basis the library schools have properly specialized, and there seems little need for duplication of such instruction on any wide scale outside of these schools, and to any greater extent in a university than it is necessary for a research student to know to do his own work. In this connection, however, I specifically except the field of descriptive bibliography as represented by W. W. Greg's work with the Elizabethan drama, a certain number of very closely analyzed author bibliographies, such projects as Mr. Alden's researches in Rhode Island imprints, or the forthcoming Pennsylvania imprints bibliography. For reasons which I hope will shortly become clear, these are properly scholarship, for they cannot be achieved except by scholarly investigations.

What I have in mind as a most strikingly neglected field for university study is a kind of bibliography which is almost entirely a product of twentieth century scholarship. This is analytical bibliography, sometimes called critical bibliography. In the words of W. W. Greg, its most noted living practitioner, it is the study and analysis of a book as a material object which has been created by the mechanical process of printing. This sounds not only like a very narrow subject, but one scarcely of much concern to the humanities. Yet in truth it is of the most vital concern, because starting on this narrow basis the study broadens out until it penetrates—or should penetrate—every aspect of human thought set down on printed pages or in manuscript. And I am myself convinced that either by pursuing this subject itself, or by directly and consciously utilizing its results, a new trend in scholarship is developing in the light of which a great deal of past work needs re-examination and correction.

I find it of considerable significance that the appreciation of this new scholarship comes most strongly from scholars who are normally at opposite poles of thought: on the one hand from the traditional academic researcher with his strong factual leaning, but on the other from the so-called higher critics, the present

liberals and new interpreters of literature. For a time I was somewhat puzzled by this latter interest, but now I think it derives from the strong trend in this criticism towards the minute and searching examination of an author's language for its meaning in image after image, phrase after phrase, before beginning the process of the full estimate of his literary status. This close though often speculative examination into imagery and symbol in poetry, for example, has led to a recognition that for valid results one must have purity of text, so that assumptions are based not on an eighteenth or nineteenth century editor's highly personal and selective idea of what, say, Shakespeare or Donne wrote, but instead on a rigorous and even scientific enquiry according to definite principles into a recovery, in as close a form as is possible, of the author's original composition.

Only an analytical bibliographer can begin this enquiry, for it needs a special knowledge to follow in the most minute detail the operation by which a handwritten manuscript or a printed copy-text, possibly with authorial annotations, is set in type by a compositor, the type-pages arranged for the press and then printed on a series of sheets of paper, with these sheets (sometimes substantially altered and revised from their initial form) being sorted, stored, and finally bound into a finished book which will probably differ in certain respects from many others in the same set of bound and finished books.

The only reason why this close and painful study should be undertaken as a branch of humanistic investigation is that it may ultimately become textual or historical criticism, or—as I prefer to believe—that it may provide a sounder and more informatory basis for textual and historical criticism than has existed in the past. When Greg, in what is to me a ringing phrase, declared that bibliography is the grammar of textual criticism, he was being as literal and as accurate as he could possibly manage. Before a critic can speak with any authority about the works of an author, whether he is analyzing his imagery, his metrics, his language, his facts, or in certain cases his over-all literary art, he must have settled for him what were the actual words which his author penned in manuscript insofar as these can be determined from a scientific study of the printed result. Until we know, as nearly as

we can come to it, what an author actually wrote, or intended to write, we are often spinning critical pipe-dreams or working under factual misapprehension based on the second-hand report of a printed text which, with all its possible corruptions, we must accept in lieu of the author's own manuscript at first hand.

It is the duty of the bibliographer to help the critic or the historian to arrive as close as he can to a first-hand report; or, to put it more negatively, it is his function, by his technical knowledge, to help the critic to evaluate the second-hand printed report more accurately. As an example of this new trend to get back to the original documents and to estimate them as accurately as possible, I found G. B. Harrison's paper at the 1946 MLA meeting of considerable significance. There he offered a most convincing attack on editors who have re-lined *Coriolanus* to suit their preconceived ideas of metrical regularity, and he affirmed the original and irregularly lined Folio text as the one which accurately represents Shakespeare's conscious lining. If, then, we want to read the lines of *Coriolanus* with the distributed emphases, the dramatic cadences that Shakespeare had in mind when he wrote, we cannot take the Globe text or any text based on similar principles. But there is an even more important consequence. Studies of Shakespeare's metrics, his use of feminine endings, run-on lines, and so forth, all of which have been used to date his plays and estimate his artistic development, these all have been based on doctored texts, not those edited according to bibliographical principles; and hence I have strong doubts about their essential accuracy.

This is not the occasion to go into the intricacies of editing texts according to bibliographical principles, and so I can only mention the fact that Greg has on various occasions pointed out the confusion which results from trying to reconstruct an author's correct reading from English printed texts on principles which apply more properly to the determination of the Latin and Greek text from manuscripts of classical authors. But there has been another kind of editing which has come down to us from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which a critic decides between two possible readings purely on his personal estimate of the feel, the tone, the language, the poetic insight, sometimes the smoothness.

Now actually I am not decrying this kind of editing completely, but I regard it as the ultimate stage when all other means have failed. I studied under Kittredge at Harvard, I shall always think of him as one of the truly great men whom I have known, but he inherited this method and it sometimes failed even him. I remember that Kittredge came down to Virginia once to deliver a lecture, and one of my students, Charlton Hinman, now at Johns Hopkins, was at the time midway into his searching examination of the text of *Othello* which has rather altered the traditional views of this play. He asked Kittredge a question on some point about the Boston Public Library copy, and Kittredge said rather grandly that he was just then writing the notes for *Othello*, and after determining in that process what Shakespeare had said, he would make up his text. Now Hinman went on to take the text apart line by line and to study its transmission; and by a chain of bibliographical evidence which could be taken into a court of law, he succeeded in demonstrating the relation of the Folio to the First Quarto, and of the heretofore puzzling Second Quarto to both, in such a way that every single variant of consequence in this late Second Quarto was shown to have been derived from states of the printed copy-text before it was proof-read, and hence no single one had any authority. Yet Kittredge, like every other editor of *Othello*, when given the choice of these variant readings, chose on literary grounds some corrupt ones and inserted various completely unauthoritative Second Quarto readings into his text as representing the true recovery of what Shakespeare had written.

Now Kittredge worked on what Greg calls *metacritical* evidence, which does not rely on bibliography, the grammar of criticism, to establish the precise derivation of texts. I was once very badly burned on such a matter when I was a bibliographical novice, and ever since I have had a peculiar interest in the problem. In the last few years I have run across several dozen cases of partial resetting in books, and in each I have tried to amuse myself by estimating which was the earlier, this estimate being made purely on textual grounds, before tackling the bibliographical evidence. It is no longer astonishing to me that in the majority of these cases my metacritical reasoning led me to a conclusion which my

bibliographical completely reversed. Very possibly my critical faculties may seem rather suspect after this confession, but I would gladly give these same problems to any group of editors and make money at odds of two to one against them.

The most dangerous kind of criticism incidentally is when a metacritical writer attacks a problem with a false semblance of bibliographical reasoning which superficially disguises the real basis of his approach. It takes a real analytical bibliographer to unmask this pseudo-bibliography, as Greg has often done, but the confused distinction between what is bibliographical evidence, and what is not, is too large a subject to engage us now. It is, however, of prime importance in the sometimes difficult task of deciding the order of two editions printed in the same year.

I have digressed a bit, too, and I should return to a more precise explanation of just what an analytical bibliographer does. Well, in the first place, he studies books as material objects. He tries to uncover what printing evidence they contain about every step in their process of manufacture. If he is preparing a book for close textual study, he wants to know whether one or else two or more compositors were engaged in the production, whether one or two or more presses printed it. He wants to know whether the book was set and printed continuously or in sections simultaneously. Whether it was proofread and corrected or not. He wants to know in each case which side of every sheet of paper was printed first, because this has an intimate relation in some cases as to whether we may assume that one side or the other has been proofread. He especially wants to know whether they were printed with one, or two, or three, or four skeleton formes because this evidence may unlock the secret of much of the above. He wants to know what evidence he can adduce from spelling tests or certain technical type measurements to separate different compositors within the same book and to determine just which pages each composed. Different compositors will have different habits which affect the authority of the text. He wants to study watermarks to see if they can help date undated or falsely dated books, and also, as we are slowly learning, for what they can sometimes tell about the printing process. He wants to know that each leaf is an integral part of the whole sheet on which it is printed, and

whether all the leaves are present, or whether some leaves are later substitutes which contain revisions. He wants to know about types and where they came from, ornaments and ornamental initials, for what these matters can sometimes tell about the order in which certain books were printed, or for their aid in identifying anonymous or falsely named printers, or misdated books. He wants to make studies which will identify the printers of certain periods and will analyze their methods of composing, printing, and proof-reading for what this evidence can supply about the true relations of the publishing history of books and the authenticity of their texts.

Now all this is technical knowledge about a technical process. How is it justified in graduate study in the humanities? The answer is in several parts, I think. First, the humanities deal more often with printed transmission of human thought than with oral transmission, and if criticism or history is to be put on an absolutely sound basis it must rest on an accurate estimate of the nature of the original documents with which it deals. On the theory of setting a crook to catch a crook, you set an analytical bibliographer to catch the printer and see what he has done, since your documents are derived second-hand to you through this printer. No matter how technical and seemingly unrelated to any literary use some bibliographical investigation is, all of it is sometime applied. And even if a bibliographer were never anything else, he would justify his existence and his technical studies by serving as the OK'er of basic documents. Yet why bring him into a university? For the simple reason, I feel, that only in universities is there the tradition of scholarship on a professional basis which will support this specialized work as the scholarship which it is, which will keep this work out of the market place and will encourage it and direct it to its proper ends. Only in the universities is there encouragement for purely theoretical studies without immediate practical aims; yet, as every scientist knows, without such abstract research, the practical appliers soon run out of material. If critics want the services of bibliography, they must bring it to them, and work closely with it. By a mutual understanding of the problems involved, the work gains a rationale which might otherwise be lost.

This brings me to my second part, which is the use of a university library and its rare books. I do not know a great deal about library schools, and so I hope I shall not give offence if I remark that so far as I can observe they handle other functions admirably, but they do not know enough to teach analytical bibliography as I understand it, and that sometimes also means, unfortunately, that books cannot be recorded accurately. As scholars turn more and more to a re-examination of the original documents, the rare book collection of a university assumes its place as the heart of the most significant research activity. As I have tried to indicate, old books are highly variable in their structure and contents, and unless those who have charge of them are technically trained to deal with them analytically, and to assist by their own bibliographical work in the huge task of correctly and completely determining all these variants and their inter-relationship in the original documents, the library in my opinion is failing in its duties to the critical and historical scholars who work with these documents.

For my third part, I should say that a Ph.D. candidate is indeed too naive to be a critic, let alone a research scholar, if he does not understand by practical experience the processes by which the printed books with which he works came into existence. My experience is that the average graduate student takes printed editions as if they had been typeset on Mount Sinai; and he has no idea of any principles by which he can determine whether a text in his hand is good or bad regardless of whether it is an old or new text, or whether one early edition is more trustworthy than another on which to base his work. I deplore this separation of those who depend on modern edited texts or early reprints from any practical idea of how such texts are constituted. This ignorance leads to naiveté and a basically unprofessional approach to literature or history. I say this because such students must constantly be taking other scholars' word for their basic material and they cannot have enough knowledge to sift the frauds from the true men. Time after time, therefore, they will be misled.

Moreover, it has been my practical experience that if analytical bibliography is properly approached as the grammar of criticism,

even its necessarily technical foundation can be made interesting to superior literary students; and as they see that here is a wide-open field in which one's productiveness really leads to making original contributions to the sum of human knowledge, they often turn to it to give them a foundation for their research. Many students I have taught have, very properly in my opinion, combined in themselves the bibliographer and historian or critic and have put their technical information to use by applying it to literary study. But though I do not feel that this is necessary to justify the teaching of analytical bibliography in universities, I warn my students that they are going to have to earn their living as professors of English first. Bibliographical studies may become their special field of research and they may continue if they choose to do nothing but technical research which simply prepares the ground for textual critics to take over; but for their teaching they must be literary men.

Yet they are literary men with a difference. They have had the training so that they do not have to take the specialists' word for any textual matter but can evaluate the interpretation of the technical evidence which is offered in argumentation. They do not need to rely on boiled down and popularized accounts of the most complex transmission of some of Shakespeare's text from quarto to quarto to Folio, or from independent manuscripts. They can follow and criticize the validity of specialist studies in these matters and interpret them to their students with first-hand authority. They learn a kind of professionalism, a scholarly discipline in testing and evaluating evidence on logical grounds which I myself think is the equal of other hurdles, chiefly linguistic, which we set up for advanced students. They learn what is the hardest thing to instill in a graduate student—confidence in their own conclusions based on never taking anybody's word for anything, but knowing enough to test any statement made. I was rather amused, but pleased, when a student this year who has been working on the much debated *Troilus and Cressida* problem and who has solved by completely demonstrable evidence what has only been guessed at before, when this student said rather bewilderedly—"You know, there wasn't really any problem there—all these people had to do was to look at the two

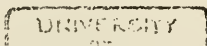
texts." This was, actually, a rather over-simplified statement; but I think he has learned a most important thing—to work logically on primary evidence and not to bow down to authority. Most graduate students believe, of course, that if a thing is in print, it's true. Bibliography is constantly taking big names apart and demonstrating that the scholarship they have printed is not true; and that is rather healthy work for a research student, until he needs taking down in turn.

Analytical bibliography finds another justification as an integral part of university study in its preparation of scholars for the task of editing, a job which is, I think, becoming more and more important in present-day scholarship. At one time I hoped that the functions of bibliographer and textual critic could be separated and that one could simply prepare the material for the other. Now I am not so sure, since I have come to the feeling that while every bibliographer certainly is not and even should not be a textual critic, yet textual criticism is becoming more and more dangerous to engage in unless one has had rigorous bibliographical training. There is still far too much unnecessary metacritical thinking being put into scholarly editions when bibliographical was actually available. There is really no need for an editor to attempt to demonstrate on purely textual grounds that a sixth Dryden edition was typeset from an annotated copy of the fifth collated and marked by an editor (perhaps even Dryden himself) with the fourth to correct certain readings, when one can easily demonstrate that two compositors set the sixth edition in relay, one using a copy of the fourth and another the fifth, and hence the sixth edition has no authority since there was no editorial intervention. There is really no need on pseudo-bibliographical or on textual grounds to argue which of two editions printed in the same year was the earlier. This can almost always be demonstrated not by argument and inference but by facts that one could take into a court of law for a decision. This holds true for the relation of any two editions one to another, whether editorially annotated or not; the derivation of one can almost always be demonstrated by bibliographical evidence beyond the shadow of a doubt whether it was printed from a specific earlier edition or from an independent manuscript. These are larger questions, but

in detail after detail in choice of variant readings or of whether to emend, the editor without first-hand bibliographical training is faced with problems that he can solve only by guesswork. I do not claim by any means that bibliography is all there is to textual criticism, for it certainly is not, but it must be the foundation on which the editor's linguistic knowledge, his taste, and literary insight into meaning is based.

Rigorous bibliographical training first on the techniques and then on their application seems to me—to sum up—to be an integral part of a university's graduate program because the new bibliography is as much concerned with the basic elements of the humanities as is, say, philology. In the increasing complexities of research it is one of the few studies which offers a basic analysis of the composition and transmission of the tools of research, the original documents. Testing evidence by sound bibliographical fact and not by the speculation of half-knowledge will remove a considerable part of the cloud of unreality which to my mind hangs over certain areas of criticism, editorship, and historical studies.

Now much of what I have said has been rather specifically directed at English studies, but there are wider applications. Any field in which work is done with early books needs to have these books closely examined, sorted out systematically, their relationship established, and their publishing history determined. The purity of text of the original documents seems to me to be of equal concern to the field of history, for example, as to English. And with history there is an even greater need for bibliography to sort out and systematically analyze this mass of source material in a way which certainly has not been done. A Virginia friend of mine tells me, for example, that there is enough material in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to fill a bibliographical journal on American history and literature for the next twenty years if it were properly worked over. Until seventeenth and eighteenth century American printing history is worked out—printers and papermakers dated and identified, books collated in all their editions to establish their line of descent and correct relationship, their place and date of publication established—for all any historical student may know the text he is using for his work may



be a corrupt reprint in which certain essential facts are misprinted or even missing. Any other field, such as philosophy, sociology, art, science, once it begins dealing with the original source books of the past is in the same fix until bibliographical examination has established the facts about these books. I can say with confidence that library cataloguing or the compilation of checklists is only a partial answer to the problem; bibliographical analysis in a way largely unknown to cataloguing, analysis that ends in true descriptive bibliography, is the only means to provide the answers and to bring some degree of order out of what is often a chaotic field, especially in Americana. If the universities do not train men to do this essential and basic work, I don't know who will; and the field will be left to the amateurs, as it has been largely in the past, with some rather dreadful results.

I think that to strengthen the research techniques of its graduate students, every department in a university should have a required course to acquaint these students with the tools of their trade, specifically with the materials of enumerative bibliography, to enable them to find their material quickly and accurately, to investigate it systematically, and to write it up logically. But over and above this, in view of the crying need for specially trained men, it is rather horrifying that few American universities offer formal instruction, at least at the research level, in analytical bibliography in spite of the magnificent new fields for research in humanistic studies which this science provides. Moreover, if ever there is a subject which requires instruction it is this. Mere reading and dabbling is not enough to learn this trade. The research student must work over books in process after process to acquire by actual and repeated experience the technique, the imagination, the feel, and the logic of bibliographical investigation. This is a field requiring rigorous discipline, a considerable amount of time for research, and rigorous instruction based on special knowledge which itself has been acquired and is constantly being enlarged by research. These men may, according to their special interests, turn out to be active teachers, practising bibliographers, or really knowledgeable rare book librarians who are more than simple custodians of locked-up treasures. But whatever they may be, we are in America training too few of them for the future.

And I put the emphasis on training, because all my generation were self-taught, and I know from bitter experience how enormously one can waste one's time in false starts and undirected research, how half-baked one's work is for years when one is forced by necessity to learn only by private experience and wasteful trial and error, lacking the trained direction which can produce good work by students from the start. I know that I am not alone in the conviction that Philadelphia's magnificent resources make it the logical place to be the bibliographical training and producing center of this country if you will welcome and foster this new basic scholarship among you.

A NOTE ON A FIFTEENTH CENTURY PRINTING TECHNIQUE

Curt F. Bühler

THE Rare Book Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library has recently been enriched by a volume, containing several early printed books, which not only includes interesting examples of mediaeval devotional literature but also affords a curious glimpse into the printing technique of the fifteenth century. In its contemporary binding (rebacked) of blind-stamped brown leather, complete with clasp and catch, the volume comprises four religious tracts extremely popular in their own day. The works were all printed at the Strassburg press of Johann Prüss in or about the year 1489 and represent the following titles:

- (1) *Præcordiale devotorum.*

References: Hain 13318; Stillwell P 869

- (2) Gerardus de Zutphania. *De spiritualibus ascensionibus.*

References: Hain 16294; Stillwell G 160 (signs. A-N)

- (3) *Meditationes de vita Christi.*

References: Copinger 3954; Stillwell G 160 (signs. O-Z, Aa-Dd)

- (4) Bertholdus. *Horologium devotionis.*

References: Hain 2991 = 8929; Stillwell G 160 (signs. Ee-Pp)

Judging from the "make-up" of the last three items, especially in view of the fact that the signature marks are continuous, one may deduce that these books were designed by Prüss to be sold either separately or together. In any case, copies in contemporary bindings are found in varying combinations or as separate items. In 1515 the volume under discussion belonged to a certain Christopher Vogel of Breslau and some years later had passed into the possession of Laurentius von Schonveld, a student at Leipzig in the year 1548. The latter, who also enters his name as Laurentius a Schonfeld of Schonfeld in 1552, may have been some relative of the Stephanus a Schoeneveld who received the degree of Doctor in Medicine from the University of Rostock in 1591.

Through a mistake made at the printing office, there is preserved, below the closing words of text and the "Laus Deo" of the third tract, a piece of inverted printing representing six lines of text. This inked-in impression, found on what is technically called signature Dd8, was identified by Mr. Rudolf Hirsch of the Library staff, as having been printed from the same type used for the first six lines on signature Cc7 verso.

It is not uncommon to find blind impressions, that is, legible but not inked indentations, in many early printed books. Usually such impressions derive from blocks of type serving as "bearers" or type-high supports necessary to brace the otherwise empty spaces against the impact of the platen. (As the reader is doubtless aware, the platen was the wooden plank which forced the paper against the inked type. Naturally where a blank space was wanted in the printed leaf, some support would be needed not only to keep the paper in place but also to hold the rest of the type in its proper position). Blind impressions of this sort are repeatedly found in books printed in Augsburg. For example, in the lower blank part of the last printed page ("Das ccix blat") in the Pierpont Morgan Library's copy of Otto von Passau's *Die vierundzwanzig Alten* (Augsburg: Sorg, 1480), there is an impression of the last two lines (in reverse order) taken from the verso of leaf "ccj" in the same book. However, blind impressions of blocks of type used as bearers are not peculiar to Augsburg books and examples may be cited from fifteenth-century volumes printed in towns as far apart as Gaeta and Magdeburg.

Naturally enough such bearers were not planned to receive ink, but this did not take into account any possible carelessness on the part of the pressmen. It was as a result of just such inattention on their part that the Library's copy of the *Meditationes* was thus misprinted. For certain books one is able to observe that the bearer was inked when some copies were printed off but not when others were produced so that printed bearers appear in some—but not all—copies. Thus the British Museum's copy of the Latin *Dialogues* of St. Catherine of Siena (Brescia: Bernardinus de Misintis, 1496) has, at the foot of sign. z5, an inked impression of fourteen lines of text which first appeared (correctly) on sign. y3 verso. In the copies belonging to Howard L. Goodhart,

Lathrop C. Harper and the Morgan Library, no such impressions are to be seen. Again, in the Juvenal printed at Vicenza by Henricus de Sancto Ursio in 1480, an inked impression of lines 45–46 of sign. l 4 verso appears below the colophon (on sign. m8) of the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, while in that in the Library of Congress only a blind impression is to be observed in the same place.

A similar situation prevails in regard to the extant examples of Christine de Pisan's *The Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye*, printed at Westminster by William Caxton in 1489. As the present writer has previously pointed out (*Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1940, pp. 169–175), the Morgan and Huntington copies contain partially printed fragmentary texts made by an inked bearer on the verso of the second leaf, though these vestiges are not visible in certain other copies (e.g., Yale and Columbia).

A most curious case of a whole page of type used as a bearer occurs in the edition, printed at Sant'Orso by Johannes de Reno about 1475, of the *De duobus amantibus* by Pope Pius II. Through a miscalculation at the press, leaf 7 verso had of necessity to be left blank. In order to provide a bearer for this page as the forme passed through the press, the printer used the type previously employed for the printing of the recto of the same leaf. However, he removed the original first and last lines and inserted in their stead two lines simply reading "VA . . . CAT." Apparently the intention was to warn the pressmen not to ink this page but, at least in the Morgan copy, the type bearer was inked and printed its curious text. A marginal note, probably contemporary and perhaps supplied at the printing house, states: "Hec pagina uacat, impressoris causa." For the technical bibliographer this misprint is of interest because it proves that in this case anyway the outer forme was printed off before the inner.

Another technically illuminating case is one where a page of type from one book was used as a bearer in another volume. For example, through accidental inking the text of leaf 7 recto of Vergil's *Bucolica* printed by Ulrich Zell at Cologne about 1470 appears on the first page of the same printer's edition of Pius II's *Epistola ad Mahumetem* (Hain 171—copy in the New York Public Library), though this leaf should have been a blank. This proves,

of course, that Zell had both these books at press about the same time and that the *Bucolica* was taken in hand first.

Through such misprints as the one found in the *Meditationes de vita Christi* recently acquired by the University of Pennsylvania Library, the student of early printing is given an insight into the practices of the earliest typographers. Here, for example, we have an octavo volume in which each quire consists of a single printed sheet folded three times. The analytical bibliographer thus sees at a glance that the inner forme of quire Dd could not have been printed at the same time as the inner forme of the previous quire—Cc(i)—since the type used in the printing of Cc7 verso reappears on Dd8 recto. It can further be deduced that the inner forme of Dd was printed after the inner forme of Cc had gone through the press and that, consequently, the former was being prepared for the press while the latter was being distributed. One may further argue that it is unlikely the press itself would have been allowed to stand idle while Cc(i) was undergoing distribution and while Dd(i) was being readied for printing. It thus seems probable that while these formes were being processed, an outer forme, (o), was being machined by the press. Since, for reasons we need not pursue at this time, the inner forme was always ready for printing before the outer, there was a practical advantage under most normal conditions in printing the inner forme first and subsequently perfecting with the outer forme. One may thus infer that Cc(o) was at press while Dd(i) was being made ready. Finally, since the printer had at press only one forme at a time, it seems not improbable that he printed this work with but a single press. The new volume is therefore doubly interesting and valuable for the Library's collection of rare books, since it is not only textually valuable but also bibliographically significant.

THE THIRD EDITION OF WITS COMMON WEALTH

M. A. Shaaber

POLITEUPHUIA. *WITS COMMON WEALTH*, a collection of what Hamlet calls "saws of books," is known to have been reprinted many times after its first appearance in 1597. An edition advertised as the fifteenth was printed in 1650, an eighteenth in 1661; another was issued as late as 1707. There is reason to think that the first three editions preceded the appearance, towards the end of 1598, of its more famous sequel *Palladis Tamia*. In the "epistle dedicatorie" Francis Meres, the compiler of the latter, says (A3):

So I exceedinglie reioyce, and am glad at my heart, that the first part of Wits Common-wealth, contayning Sentences, hath like a braue Champion gloriouslie marched and got such renowned fame by swifte running, equivalent with Philips Chariottes, that thrice within one yeare it hath runne thorowe the Presse.

Of the first edition there is a unique example at the British Museum. Of the second, dated 1598, eight copies are known. Of the third, the compiler of the Pforzheimer catalog remarks (p. 826):

However, though no copy of a third edition printed prior to the *Palladis Tamia* can be located, one or more copies are probably in existence for Hazlitt [*Collections and Notes*, 1876, p. 258] described an edition dated 1598 which collates A⁴, B-Mm⁸ and omits the errata (query because corrected).

The STC lists a first, a second, a fourth, a tenth, an eleventh, and a twelfth edition, but no third.

It is therefore a matter of some interest that a copy of the third edition may be found in the Furness Memorial Library. That it is the third is explicitly stated by the publisher in his preface "To the Reader" (A3): "CVrteous Reader, encouraged by thy kind acceptance of the first and second impression of *Wits Common-wealth*: I haue once more aduentured to present thee vvith a

third edition." The third edition appears to be substantially a reprint of the second. The inference of the Pforzheimer catalog that the errata of the second edition would be corrected in the third is verified: of the 26 faults escaped listed on A4^v of the second edition, all but six are corrected (or at least partly corrected). The publisher says (A3): "Some what new I haue inserted, put out many things where I found it necessary, and espetially of examples: for that I intend by Gods grace the next Tearme, to publish the third part of *Wits Common-wealth*, con-
tayneing onely examples." (This third part is *Wits Theater of the little World*, 1599.) The chief addition is a new section "Of Heresies & Heretiques" (Kk5^r-Kk6^v); otherwise the divisions of the book are the same and in the same order. A certain number of maxims are dropped and a certain number of new ones are added. In the section "Of Poetry," for example, there are 19 "sentences" in the second edition (H3^r-H4^r). In the third edition (G8^v-H1^v) one of these is omitted and one slightly revised; two new ones are added. There is also some editorial revision; the publisher's epistle is addressed "To his very good friend, Maister *Bodenham*" instead of "Maister *I.B.*"; the caption of the section "Night or Darknes" (Hh3^r) is changed to "Of Night" (Ec8^r); the sources of many maxims are specified. A description follows:

Politeuphuia. | WITS COM- | mon wealth. | Newly corrected and augmented. | [Publisher's device (McKerrow 301)] | *Si tibi difficilis formam natura negauit,* | *Ingenio formæ damna repende tux.* | Printed by I. R. for Nicholas Ling, | and are to be sold at the VVest doore | of Paules. 1598.

Collation: A⁴, B-Mm⁸; 276 leaves.

Foliation: 1-258 on rectos B-Ll2 (f. 23 numbered 24, 89 numbered 75, 91 numbered 77, 93 numbered 79, 95 numbered 81, 222 numbered 22).

Running-titles: A2^v, THE EPISTLE. B1^v-Ll2^v, *Wits Common-wealth*. (*Wits Common-wealth*. on E4^r, F3^r, F4^r, H3^r, H4^r; *Wits Common-wealth*. on L4^r, N3^r; *Wits Common-wealth*. on T4^r; *Wits Common-wealth*. on O7^v, Q7^v, Q8^v, S7^v, S8^v, V7^v, V8^v, Y7^v, Y8^v, Aa7^v, Aa8^v, Cc7^v, Cc8^v, Ee7^v, Ee8^v, Gg7^v, Gg8^v; *Wits Common-wealth* on Z1^v, Z2^v, Aa4^r, Cc3^r, Cc4^r, Ee3^r, Ee4^r, Gg3^r, Gg4^r; swash C on 3^r, 3^v, 4^r, 4^v, 5^r, 6^r of sign. G, I, L, N, P, R, T, X, Z, Bb, Dd, Ff, Hh, Ii, Kk). Ll3^v-Mm6^v, *The Table*. Mm7^v-Mm8^r, The Authors names.

Contents: [A1], title-page (verso blank). A2, "To his very good friend, Maister Bodenham, *N.L.* wisheth increase of happines." signed on verso "*N. Lyng.*" A3, "To the Reader." signed "*N.L.*" A3^v, "In Politeu-phuian Decastichon." signed "*R.A.*"; English verses signed "*T. M.*" [A4], sonnet signed "*M. D.*" (verso blank). B1, "VVITS COMMON VVEALTH." Ll3, "A table of all the principall matters contayned in the former Treatise." Mm7, "The names of all the Christian and Heathen Authors in this Booke." Mm8^v, blank.

Notes: 1. The printer would seem to have been James Roberts, who also printed the first and the second editions. 2. In the Furness copy three leaves appear to be bound in the wrong order. The leaf which I have described as A4 follows the title-page (A1), but as the leaves which follow it are signed A2 and A3 and as the sonnet printed on it appears on A4 in the second edition, I think it must have been wrongly bound in. In addition, [Bb4] follows Bb1, and [Bb5] follows [Bb7].

SOME RECENT ADDITIONS to the RARE BOOK COLLECTION

John Alden

CLASSICAL AUTHORS IN FRENCH TRANSLATION

ALTHOUGH we are perhaps accustomed to think of classical authors simply in relation to their own times, the fact remains that their influence with their contemporaries was virtually negligible when compared with their impact upon later generations, particularly the Renaissance. The history of the transmission of the writings of classical authors is in itself a matter of tremendous interest, and of considerable significance.

Already possessing one of the country's strongest collections of classical authors in early editions, the Library, as a contribution to such a study of the influence of the classics, has been gradually acquiring their early French translations. Despite the knowledge of Latin and Greek once more general than now, it is still not unlikely that the classics were read for pleasure more often in translation than in the original. William Byrd of Westover, for instance, who collected the finest library in colonial Virginia, thus read his Cicero in French rather than in Latin: the Library's set of Du Royer's translation is one of its special treasures, for of Byrd's library less than a hundred volumes can today be traced.

Of the twenty such French translations purchased during the past year, the outstanding item is the first edition of Remi Belleau's translations of the Odes of Anacreon (Paris, 1556), although several early editions of translations of Homer are also noteworthy, as well as a Lyon, 1545, edition of Caesar's *Commentaires* and a Paris, 1559, edition of Cicero's *Oraisons*.

ITALIAN LITERATURE

To most of us Gabriele Rossetti is best known as the father of Christina, Dante Gabriel and William Rossetti, yet in himself he

was a figure of no small stature. A political exile who like other Italian liberals of the early nineteenth century found refuge in England, he was a poet and critic of considerable interest.

Of his writings, his *Il Mistero dell' Amor Platonico*, in five volumes, is perhaps his most ambitious work, embodying Rossetti's particular theological, political, and literary views, and developing the theory that Dante was less a Christian than an inheritor of secret Pagan mysticism which Rossetti related also to Platonism and to Freemasonry. Rossetti's intense love of liberty and desire for political reform led him to extremes which shocked his contemporaries, and the publication of the work led only to disappointment.

The printing of the five volumes, which appeared in 1840, was financed by his friends John Hookham Frere and Charles Lyell. The former on reading it, however, was convinced that the work should be destroyed. Only a few copies were actually distributed, and after his death his widow destroyed the remainder. As a consequence the work is exceedingly scarce. In this country copies are recorded only at Harvard and Cornell.

Because of its relation to Dante scholarship the book is appropriate to the Library's distinguished collection of Dante. The Library has been fortunate in acquiring the author's own copy, with his pencil notations, which was inherited by his son William, and thence by the present generation of the family.

Of other recent additions to the Dante Collection, established by the bequest of Francis Campbell Macauley of both his personal library and of a fund for the purchase of books, the most important is a copy of Andrea Alciati's *De Formula Romani Imperij Libellus* (Basileae [1559]), which contains the first printing of Dante's significant "De Monarchia Libri Tres."

Among the forty items printed in Italy in the sixteenth century recently acquired only a few outstanding items can be cited, but it is a particular pleasure to mention three editions, the earliest dated 1514, of Petrarch, and three of Boccaccio. To the editions of the writings of the distinguished Italian humanist Jacopo Sannazaro—a splendid copy of the first edition of his *De Partu Virginis* was purchased two years ago—have been added the first French edition of the same work, and the 1554 Aldine edition of

his *Sonetii, è Canzoni*. In addition to a group of plays by Gabriele Zinano, editions of Lodovico Dolce's *La Medea* (Vinegia, 1558) and his *Didone* (Venetia, Aldus, 1547) should be mentioned among recent purchases of Italian dramatic materials.

Other items of interest include a copy of Giuseppe Orologi's *L'Inganno* (Vinegia, 1562), the gift of Mr. George Eckhardt, and of Giovanni Battista Palatino's *Libro Nuovo d'Imparare a Scrivere* ([Rome] 1540). The latter is a good example of a textbook for teaching the Chancery hand which is today being revived both in this country and in England.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

Among the books printed in England prior to 1641 which have been recently acquired the most notable is undoubtedly a copy of the London [1616] edition of the works of Homer in the translation by George Chapman made famous by Keats's sonnet. The copy in question, the gift of Mr. William F. Kemble Creamer, is of particular interest in that it bears the autograph of Thomas Buchanan Read, the Philadelphia painter and poet, and author of "Sheridan's Ride."

Another gift which is more than welcome as an addition to the collection of Bibles presented by Mr. T. Edward Ross is a copy of the London [1611-12] edition of the Geneva version (STC 2218), given by Mrs. Murdoch Kendrick in memory of her husband, a benefactor and trustee of the University.

From funds provided by the Friends of the Library was purchased a copy of the Book of Common Prayer, published in Edinburgh in 1637 (STC 16606). Designed for the use of the Church of Scotland, it met with such opposition that its influence was negligible there, but its canon was that followed by the Book of Common Prayer of the Episcopal Church in the United States. Its acquisition is appropriate to the celebration this year of the four hundredth anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer. Of it only two other copies are recorded in America.

Just as the *Short-title Catalogue of English Books, 1475-1640*, published in 1926, provided a tremendous impetus to studies in that period, so undoubtedly will the current publication of Mr.

Donald G. Wing's *Short-title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700*, similarly for English books, prove the basis for research not only in literature but in other fields as well.

While the resources of the Philadelphia area have unfortunately not been explored, for the most part, by Mr. Wing, they are not inconsiderable, in view of the holdings of institutions such as the Library Company, the numerous theological schools, and the University of Pennsylvania. In many cases not only are copies to be found in the Philadelphia area of which there are no other copies in America, but in others no copy at all was known to Mr. Wing.

In the case of the University, it is essential that the Library be prepared for the demands of future scholars, responding to the incentive offered by Mr. Wing's work, by strengthening its present materials. In this it would be unwise, if not futile, for the Library to attempt even a comprehensive, let alone exhaustive, coverage of the entire period. The alternative is to select certain segments for emphasis, in which completeness may be approached, whereby the scholar may expect to find a concentration of the necessary source material conveniently united. Other material of importance in the period need not be neglected but there should be at least certain definite fields where there is a sufficient degree of thoroughness to encourage research.

Inasmuch as the Library already possesses a representative collection of Restoration plays, that area reasonably suggests itself for development. The bibliographical studies of Professor Fredson T. Bowers of the University of Virginia, in which the Library has been coöperating, ensures the immediate usefulness of such material, while the results of his work will in time provoke further investigations by graduate students and faculty.

At the time of the publication of Mrs. Gertrude Woodward and Dr. James G. McManaway's *A Check List of English Plays, 1641-1700*, in which the University of Pennsylvania's holdings are recorded, the Library could be said to possess only a fair number of items. The Library now possesses over three times the number of items credited to it in the *Check List*. Of these, 135 have been acquired in the past year for the Rare Book Collection and for the Furness Memorial Library. The Library's collection of Restora-

tion plays may now be considered not merely representative but even distinguished, not solely on numerical grounds but in terms of quality as well, for a number of them are comparatively rare, and some of them, according to Mr. Bowers, contain unique variants.

In addition, on the recommendation of Dr. Albert C. Baugh, the Library in 1941 purchased a collection of about seventy broadside ballads. The purchase was an extremely fortunate one. For one thing, the ballads in question prove to be particularly rare, in some cases being apparently unique and in others being known in only one or two copies. As it happens, moreover, most of the broadsides were printed in the years 1681 and 1682.

Nowhere else, probably, are those two years as significant as in Pennsylvania, for they are the very years in which Pennsylvania was created. It was in 1681 that William Penn received his charter for the Province from Charles II, and in 1682 that Penn, with the first group of settlers, arrived aboard the ship *Welcome* to found the city of Philadelphia.

To the historian it is becoming increasingly important to know what ideas were current at a given time: it is not sufficient to place an event in relation to the political *milieu*. The future historian of early Pennsylvania will probably wish more and more to investigate the intellectual currents prevalent during the first years of the state. He will want to know what ideas the early colonists brought with them, or perhaps, in the case of Pennsylvania, what ideas the settlers wished to get away from.

Taking, then, the group of broadsides which are so thoroughly appropriate as a cornerstone, an effort is also being made to acquire for the Library everything printed in England during the years 1681 and 1682. Individual items which in themselves may seem of negligible importance by being placed in conjunction with similar material thus take on a new significance.

The period itself is, aside from its relation to Pennsylvania, not without intrinsic interest. The years in question were dominated in part by the activities of Titus Oates who with his incredible and imaginary "Popish Plot" sent thirty-five innocent people to their death, throwing all of England in a turmoil which lasted for four years. The Henry Charles Lea Library already possesses some material relating to the plot.

Not only is the period politically a colorful one but it is also that legally as well, with its trials of persons implicated in the plot. In philosophy it is the period of Hume, with editions of his collected works appearing. In literature the writings of dramatists and poets such as John Crowne, the America-born playwright, Dryden, Cowley, Nathaniel Lee, John Banks, and Otway were being published.

Such a collection will, it is hoped, supplement admirably the resources of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is likely to be of similar value within the Philadelphia community.

Ultimately it may prove desirable to extend the area covered beyond the two years in question, but, as with the plays of the Restoration, to make it distinctive as a collection as complete coverage as possible of a limited period is for the time being probably essential. It is not possible to estimate how many items were published during the two years, but it is not likely for some time that the possibilities of acquiring such material will be exhausted. Through the generosity of Mr. J. Roy W. Barrette of Philadelphia a fund, known as the Province Fund, has been established to further this project, and with it some fifty items have been purchased.

During the past year the Library has acquired over 250 items of the 1641-1700 period. Among them is a London, 1664, Greek New Testament, likewise the gift of Mrs. Murdoch Kendrick (Wing B2732), of which only two other copies are known. Also presented by Mrs. Kendrick was a 1675, London, English translation of Don Quixote (Wing C1777) of which only two copies are to be found in American libraries.

The Library's collection of the writings of John Dryden was greatly strengthened by the purchase of over thirty items published during his lifetime. Of Andrew Horne's *The Booke called, The Mirrour of Justices* (London, 1659), no copy was known to Mr. Wing, while only one copy of Jean Dubreuil's *Perspective Practical* (London, 1698; Wing D2412), the gift of Mr. William F. Kemble Creamer, is recorded.

Of more recent English literature, a group of seventeen first editions of the novels of Sir Walter Scott was received from Miss Amy Comegys. To the Library's strong collection of the writings

of Walter De La Mare were added four items, the gift of Mr. Seymour Adelman, one of them, *Crossings*, being one of 56 copies on Japanese vellum. Mr. Adelman also presented the extremely scarce Prologue by William Ernest Henley to Barrie's *Richard Savage*, his first published play. Likewise the gift of Mr. Adelman is a copy of *Everard Meynell. From a Hospital Journal, 1921-1922*, privately printed at the Nonesuch Press for members of the Meynell family.

THE HOROLOGICAL COLLECTION

Since its inception less than two years ago the Horological Collection established by the National Association of Watch and Clock Collection has grown steadily until it now numbers well over five hundred books and pamphlets. It has been greatly strengthened by the purchase of a group of eighteenth century French books on clocks, a purchase made possible by the generous donations of Mr. Robert C. Franks, Jr., Mr. James W. Gibbs, Mr. Penrose R. Hoopes, and Mr. James A. Jensen. All of the early books are of historical significance, especially Antoine Thiout's *Traité de l'Horlogerie* (Paris, 1741), one of the most important books of the period, an exhaustive account of clock-making. Also included are eight items by Ferdinand Berthout, the most celebrated French horologist of the century who developed a satisfactory chronometer even before his famous English contemporary John Harrison, the inventor of the chronometer as now known.

From Mr. Francis Packard of Boston the Library has received an equally interesting item, the manuscript account book of Calvin Bailey, an early clockmaker of Hanover, Massachusetts. Of such records of early clockmakers very few examples are known, and the manuscript is one of the outstanding pieces in the collection, recording as it does not only the everyday transactions of a skilled craftsman, but the marketing and repair of his wares as well.

THE MUSICAL LIBRARY OF FRANCIS HOPKINSON

In the early history of music in America the rôle of Francis Hopkinson was a major one. He is generally considered the first

American composer, and he played an important part in the encouragement of musical activity in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia. Hopkinson's patriotic services as a signer of the Declaration of Independence and as a leading member of the Continental Congress perhaps overshadow his significance as a composer and author, yet the latter were an important facet of a man who in his day was perhaps second only to Jefferson in the breadth and quality of his cultural interests.

As a consequence, the recent gift of Hopkinson's musical library by his descendant, Mr. Edward Hopkinson, Jr., is one of exceptional value, not only in the intrinsic interest of the individual items themselves, but also as a group which reveals what music the personal library of an eighteenth century musician contained. Included are the works of contemporary composers both European and American, the concertos and songs of Händel, Corelli, Vivaldi, of Haydn and many others, not only in printed form, but also in manuscript. Two volumes consist of Hopkinson's own transcripts of contemporary harpsichord music and songs, one of which is dated 1755 when he was still an undergraduate in the then College of Philadelphia. Of exceptional interest is a musical setting of the Psalms of David, with a dedication signed by Giles Farnaby, the early English composer. In an early seventeenth century hand, the manuscript was probably written between 1625 and 1640. Hitherto no compositions dated later than 1600 by Farnaby had been known to English musicologists.

Among those items by American composers many are of extreme rarity. Of Hopkinson's own *Seven Songs for the Harpsichord*, his setting of poems written by himself, only four copies are known, as is also the case with William Brown's *Three Rondos*, dedicated to Hopkinson. In other instances the only other known copy is in the Library of Congress, undoubtedly the finest music library in the world. Of Haydn's *Favorite Rondo in the Gipsy Style* (Philadelphia [179-]) no other copy is recorded.

As the first graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Hopkinson is of particular interest, and that his musical library should form part of its collections is but appropriate. Already in the Library are other of his writings, including the finest known copy

of his *Pretty Story*, the first piece of American fiction printed in this country, as well as other items even scarcer, such as the dialogues and odes written for the early commencements of the University. Unfortunately the Library does not possess a copy of his poem, *Science*, of 1762, relating to the probable glorious future of the young College.

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The publication this past year of Lyle H. Wright's bibliography, *American Fiction, 1774-1850*, reveals the University of Pennsylvania Library as possessing one of the outstanding collections of early American novels, although surpassed by several other collections such as those of the American Antiquarian Society and of Yale. During the past year almost a hundred items have been added to those credited to the Library by Mr. Wright. In the field of early American fiction the most noteworthy item acquired, although not within Mr. Wright's period, is a first edition of Melville's *Moby Dick*, perhaps the greatest of all American novels. The Pennsylvania copy is in the unusual blue binding, with an elaborate arabesque stamped design found in only a few copies.

It is only rarely that the Library is able to secure an early American play not already in its collections, for, thanks to the efforts of Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn, this field is an especially strong one. In the past year, however, the Library was able to purchase *The Search after Happiness, a Pastoral Drama . . . By a Lady of Connecticut* (Hudson, N. Y., 1806), a dramatization of Hannah Moore's work of that title apparently unknown to bibliographers.

While strong in fiction and the drama the Library has in the past paid less attention to early poetry. The field is an extensive one, for in early nineteenth century America it was the favorite and most usual form of literary expression. In order to fill in this gap, that its collections of early American literature may be more soundly balanced, a substantial amount of early American verse has been purchased. From Mr. Seymour Adelman the Library received by gift a fine copy of Ignatius Donnelly's *The Mourner's*

Vision (Philadelphia, 1850), published when its author was but nineteen. Born in Philadelphia, Donnelly as a young man moved to Minnesota where he became one of the outstanding political figures of the time. As an author he is best known for his *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* which achieved immense popularity. *The Mourner's Vision* itself has apparently hitherto completely escaped the notice of Donnelly's biographers, and no other copy has been traced.

In the field of contemporary American literature Mr. Barton W. Currie has presented to the Library his extensive collection of first editions of James Branch Cabell, thus making available to future scholars the writings of a man who figured so largely in American literature of our own recent past.

THEODORE DREISER

From Mrs. Theodore Dreiser the Library has recently secured those manuscripts and letters which were not among the Theodore Dreiser materials received from Mr. Dreiser himself before his death. It would be difficult to overstate the tremendous importance of this new acquisition, whereby the University of Pennsylvania possesses, with certain exceptions, virtually all of Dreiser's manuscripts. Those exceptions are, notably, the manuscripts of his *Jennie Gerhardt* and *Sister Carrie*, the former of which is in private hands, while the latter is in the New York Public Library. Of *Sister Carrie*, however, the Library now has, if not the first draft in Dreiser's autograph, at least the second stage in the development of the novel in the form of the first typewritten draft, with Dreiser's corrections.

Of the Dreiser materials just obtained—occupying some ten trunks—the most extraordinary are the first two drafts of *The American Tragedy*, considered by many the greatest American novel of our century. Both are in Dreiser's own hand. In addition, there are also the handwritten manuscripts of his other early novels *The Titan* and *The Genius*.

It would be impossible to describe in detail the scope of the Dreiser Collection as now brought together. Containing as it does notes, drafts, galley proofs, binders' and publishers' dummies,

correspondence, and the like, it is doubtful if for any other American author there exists so complete a corpus of materials for the study of the aesthetic creative process, and for the development and transmission of his ideas. Dreiser's eminence as an author ensures the permanent importance of this material in the scholarly resources of the University. In addition Dreiser's friendship with many of the leading authors of his day has resulted in correspondence with them, so that scholars working on men such as Sherwood Anderson and H. L. Mencken will find it essential to make use of the collection.

As a first step in the productive use of the resources provided by the Dreiser Collection, a committee has been formed, consisting of Mrs. Theodore Dreiser, John Alden, Professor Sculley Bradley, Robert H. Elias, James T. Farrell, Alfred Kazin, F. O. Matthiessen, H. L. Mencken and Robert E. Spiller, to attempt to bring together the originals or reproductions of letters written by Mr. Dreiser to correspondents, with the view to the publication of a selection of his correspondence. The work will be edited by Mr. Elias, author of the recently issued biography *Theodore Dreiser: Apostle of Nature*.

DINO NICODIN

Shortly before his death in October of last year Dino Nicodin, the Rumanian author, presented to the University of Pennsylvania a copy of his novel *Revolutia*. In inscribing it to the President of the University, he indicated that he was sending it in remembrance of Michael J. Rura, a former student of the University, who had known Nicodin in Rumania.

Although virtually unrecognized in America, Nicodin—whose real name was Nicolae Ioannidi—was a notable figure in Rumanian letters, as a poet, novelist, playwright, and editor. Yet writing was only a diversion for him, a single facet of his intense humanitarianism and philanthropy. He took particular pleasure in travel and in helping people, and as a consequence was revered and loved by Rumanians of all classes.

A member of the royalist party, Nicodin was at one time a close friend and adviser to Carol II, the former King of Rumania. Explaining his political views he remarked, "I am a royalist,

because my country needs a strong autocratic government; my people are not yet ready for democracy in the Western sense." He took to writing to give vent to his profound feelings on Rumania's political and social problems of the period between the two World Wars. His *Revolutia*, which was received with great enthusiasm, is a defense of the royalist point of view in the French Revolution.

As a member of that social class in Rumania which has been the principal target of the political and economic activities of the Communists in the past few years, Nicodin was reduced from wealth to poverty, and died penniless. In the last weeks of his life he was especially interested in America and in seeing American magazines. He found the latter "soothing to his troubled spirit," and compensation for an unfulfilled desire to see the United States.

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